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ABSTRACT

This 4-volume research guide to New Careers programs, which was derived from personal interviews with approximately 100 respondents in individual and group sessions, is intended to serve a variety of uses, such as: (1) to encourage program planners and operators to utilize research as a means of contributing to problem solving, and (2) to stimulate and assist those researching various aspects of New Careers programs. The contents, which reflect many of the major suggestions and needs expressed by those who are involved in some aspect of New Careers programs, are organized in the following volumes: (1) Assessing the Impact of the New Careers Program, which proposes research studies that deal with considerations necessary for launching a New Careers program, (2) The Design and Operation of New Careers Programs, which proposes research studies that deal with ongoing operational problems of New Careers programs, (3) Assessing the Impact of the New Careers Program, which proposes research studies to assess the success of the total program rather than the effectiveness of individual components, and (4) Implications of the New Careers Program for the Field of Education, which cites areas where research efforts may be applied to planning and operation activities of New Careers educational projects to suit the needs of those served. (SB)

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A COMPREHENSIVE RESEARCH GUIDE TO AID THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CAREERS PROGRAMS IN HUMAN SERVICE

Prepared by: The Center for Social Policy
and Program Development
Graduate School of Social Work
New York University

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and Program Development
Graduate School of Social Work
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Preface

This guide is the product of a study of the major research issues and needs of new careers programs which in ever greater numbers are being planned and implemented in the human service fields.

New Careers programs are essentially an outgrowth of the civil rights and anti-poverty ferment of the 1960's. Within a single program package they attempt to provide decent jobs and career opportunities primarily but not exclusively for the poor, to lift the economically needy out of poverty, to open new and advanced educational opportunities to program participants, to improve services to the poor and to make human service agencies more responsive to their needs, and to fill the service gaps created by serious shortages in the availability of human service professionals.

To achieve this rather imposing array of objectives, new careers programs generally rely upon procedures which restructure the job responsibilities of professionals, regrouping lower level tasks into a graded series of jobs for paraprofessionals leaving professionals free to concentrate on higher level tasks. In this respect at least new careers programs are securely anchored in precedent. Industry and government have followed this practice successfully for generations, particularly under pressure of serious shortages in highly skilled and professional personnel. Public and private human service agencies have engaged in analagous practices in employing volunteers and paid paraprofessional staff. What distinguishes new careers programs from their antecedents is their emphasis upon the provision of real opportunities for upward mobility through the establishment of viable career ladders leading to professional status. Program participants are also to be offered significant educational assistance and a battery of supportive services to enable them to realize these opportunities. Lastly, the program's rhetoric calls for the participation of the new careerist in policy and other forms of agency decision-making activities.

In principle this program concept has been widely accepted by community groups, secondary and higher educational institutions, and public and private human service agencies. Its advocacy is believed to be politically advantageous with the result that the program has been incorporated in many different pieces of federal legislation. Nevertheless, there are many differences in substance and emphasis even among its more devoted champions.

It should be noted, however, that broad public acceptance of the program is based largely on its potential rather than on its successful implementation. The program's success rate to date has not been notably high. Its short life has been more generally characterized by the emergence of difficult technical and administrative problems, by acrimonious controversy, and by failure. Yet, the success, however measured, of individual participants and projects is also apparent.

The principal issues for study and analysis in any effort to contribute to the development of new careers programs are relatively clear. They involve the need to identify those influences or factors and their attendant conditions which contribute to effective planning and operation of new careers programs, and, contrariwise, to identify and analyze the forces which create program problems and impede effective planning and operation. Such analyses should produce clearer conceptions than currently exist of viable, operational new careers objectives and methods.

The new careers programs selected for study were confined to human service fields and to those which have been authorized by various forms of federal legislation since the Scheur amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act in 1966. Cast in a similar design mold they establish career ladders in various demand occupations, encourage maximum opportunity for upward mobility and improvement in client services, seek to open higher educational opportunities for program participants and to supply a battery of supportive services to sustain the participant through his training and educational activities. Eligible participants are generally defined in terms of poverty criteria, but there are important legislative exceptions to this stipulation. Thus, a larger body of individuals engaged in what are regarded as paraprofessional positions are largely excluded from consideration in this study.

Within this broad context, the present study relates only to those major policy and program issues to which research methodology can make a significant contribution. Clearly, the end in view is to encourage and stimulate more intensive utilization of research capabilities in order to resolve the problems confronting new careers programs and to contribute to more effective developmental and operational program activities.

The product of the study is a comprehensively developed and conceived research guide to new careers programs which should serve many uses among many users. New careers program planners and operators should find many of their principal concerns articulated in research terms and should be encouraged to utilize research increasingly as a means of contributing to problem-solving. The guide should alert many planners, operators and others who are new to the program to the potential problems and pitfalls which may confront them. It is intended to serve similar functions for decision-makers in social agencies who are contemplating the development of a new careers or paraprofessional program and for heads of educational and other supportive agencies seeking to provide specialized services to new careers programs. Legislators and agency officials faced with decisions regarding the funding of research and demonstration activities should also find the document useful. The guide should stimulate and assist researchers engaged in individual studies of new careers programs and those involved in the development of educational curriculum and the application of educational resources (at the vocational, community college and senior college levels) to the new careers program. For many others, review of the guide should offer a broadly-based educational experience.

The primary inputs to the guide were derived from personal interviews conducted with approximately 100 respondents in individual and group sessions. Those interviewed consisted of new careerists, local program planners and operators, government agency officials at all levels responsible for implementation of New Careers legislation, union and professional association representatives related to new careers, experts in particular program areas (e.g., job analysis and testing), technical assistance staff of private organizations serving new careers programs under contract to the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Labor, research staff conducting program evaluations under various government contracts, and a number of experts who may be referred to as the new careers program's major conceptualists. Interviews were conducted in various parts of the country and dealt with program planning and operations in a number of human service fields, mainly education, welfare, health and corrections. Lastly, interviews were augmented by review and analysis of existing research and literary materials.

Interview guides for each category of respondents (e.g., local program operators, new careerists, etc.) were prepared and pretested. The information sought at these open ended interviews was generally of two types. By far the greatest number of respondents, it was assumed, would be unaccustomed to articulating or perceiving their problems in research terms. They could respond more confidently to questions which attempted to probe their experiences, problems and assessments in various planning and operational aspects of new careers programming. Their responses would then have to be analyzed and categorized and those problems and issues susceptible to research filtered out of the accumulated mass.

As it turned out, few respondents were actually able to formulate research issues in usable form in spite of persistent probing. From their discussion of their program experiences, problems and general observations, analysis revealed that very often the problems cited did not in any important sense require research inputs. What appeared to be needed in these instances was more qualified staff or staff training programs; improved management, administration and organization of the project; better coordination with local, often competitive agencies; and quite often, essential policy decisions which seemed to be withheld for reasons of ideological differences, lack of resources, or organizational or individual self-interest rather than a lack of information. In some instances, it appeared that information was at hand which could contribute to problem-solving, but was either not known by the respondent or not immediately available to him. Responsibility for this regrettable situation may be attributed to individual respondents, but it also reflects the absence of any centralized effort to accumulate, assess, categorize and distribute in usable form the reliable information which does exist. In this age of computers this deficiency is subject to significant relief. Whether program planners and operators are capable of using data-- of transferring it--to formulate policy decisions and to design programs are problems which will receive comment shortly.

A second order of information sought in the interviews and in the review of relevant literature went more directly to the heart of research problems and issues. The character of a research problem was broadly defined to make it possible to include pilot studies and demonstration projects in the guide. But primary emphasis was placed upon obtaining information related to problems which could be relieved through empirical studies designed and conducted in accordance with accepted principles of scientific method. For example, such information was assumed to be related to gaps in the data perceived as necessary for program policy and design decisions, and to various needs for identifying and testing essential but often implicit program assumptions and conceptions; for assessing the consequences of particular planning and operational decisions, for choosing among competing ends and means, and for developing program feedback and evaluation activities.

The study, hence the guide, assumed that there is a sizeable and significant series of program problems which are common to the various human service fields. In these fields new careers programs engage in a similar set of required planning and operational activities from which generic problems arise. These problems are likely to be found in such activity areas as assessing labor market demand and working conditions; performing job analysis and job restructuring; coping with existing barriers to new careers in civil service, trade unions, professional associations and antagonistic agency amangement and staff; recruiting and selecting program participants; developing and implementing programs of training and supportive services; and opening opportunities for higher education. Clearly each new careers program also has its own unique characteristics and problems depending on the field of service, type of agency, local situation and other idiosyncratic conditions. However, the broad scope of the study made it virtually impossible to treat such differences satisfactorily in this guide.

It was also quickly apparent in the course of the study that new careers programs shared many activities, program problems and research needs with other manpower programs. In many respects, their design seems to be stamped out of the same mold. On the other hand, new careers programs do leave many visible and unique components including significant requirements for career ladders and upward occupational mobility, the opportunities to acquire educational credentials leading to higher and ultimately the professional status, and many others. These similarities and differences are clearly identified in the guide. From a broader point of view it is held to be advantageous to the development of an overall manpower program capability to design research studies which contrasts aspects of new careers with other manpower programs. Such studies quite obviously also contribute to greater understanding of each of the programs contrasted.

A more difficult problem to resolve consisted of various ideological differences among respondents. The fundamentalists, of course, sought basic, thorough-going changes in human service institutions and related fields, while the incrementalists adopting what they regarded as a more practical and feasible approach, desired changes of a lesser magnitude. These differences were manifested in various ways. For example, incrementalists viewed the new careers program as a vehicle for employing people, particularly the poor, and for filling organizational gaps created by shortages of professional staff. Fundamentalists saw the program as an opportunity to review the total fabric of agency goals, structure and service modalities in order to make the agency more responsive to and more effective in meeting the needs of the poor. Incrementalists were much less inclined to tamper with existing agency structure, believing it necessary only to fit new careerists into present organizations.

Fundamentalists were searching for new working relationships between professionals and new careerists and for a broadening of the agency's policy and decision-making base. Lastly, incrementalists would be well satisfied to open educational opportunities for new careers enrollees at community colleges, while fundamentalists believed that community colleges must be thoroughly overhauled if they are to serve the needs of new careerists. Thus, the former request community colleges to develop tutorial programs for new careerists, new occupational specializations, and special schedules to accommodate to their work requirements. Fundamentalists, however, go far beyond this, essentially to the point of restructuring what they regard as inadequate education for the new careerists and others. In their view it is essential to study and redesign instructional methods, curricula, faculty selections and assignments and various other basic components of the present system of community college education.

Research recommendations guided by fundamentalists policies are likely to be condemned by some as "global", "impractical," and unrelated to the working problems encountered daily by program administrators and others. On the other hand research recommendations derived from incrementalist policies are likely to be regarded by others as "trivial," and as contribution to the wrong problems and to efforts to paper over the real problems. For various reasons a decision has been made to include in the guide research recommendations which reflect both orientations, a position which may earn criticism from both camps. The reader--government officials, agency administrators, program operators--are of course free to select from the guide those recommendations which best conform to their philosophies, perceptions, resources, constraints or predilections.

A brief comment is in order concerning the potential uses and usefulness of the research suggestions included in the guide. From what has been said to this point about the study and the guide, the reader may already have formed some opinions, pro and con, on this question. Suffice it to say that the guide reflects many of the major suggestions and needs expressed by those who are intimately and importantly involved in some aspect of new careers programs.

There are, however, a number of more general points that should be made, particularly in view of the vastly increased support for behavioral research activities which seems to have produced little more than a huge stockpile of unused research reports. The issue is crucial in many senses and deserves more comprehensive treatment than can be given to it here. The central thesis is that the views and expectations regarding research, held almost entirely by nonresearch oriented administrators and legislators have been unrealistic. Disappointment with the failure of research to aid in the solution of many major problems, many of which do not require research for their resolutions, appears to be leading in some quarters to a total rejection of its utility. Research, of course, is not the grand elixir. It has its uses and its limitations which need to be clearly understood. Its present utility can be enhanced, however, under the following conditions:

1. Research suffers with many methodological deficiences whose elimination require greater support. In recent years there have been many notable methodological developments particularly in data handling and analysis through computer programming and sophisticated techniques. But relatively little attention has been devoted to the quality of data inputs. Research still relies heavily on essentially crude techniques of interviewing and observation. "Garbage in-garbage out" is not entirely a gratuitous criticism. Further, research methodology has evolved largely in a detached, academic atmosphere and is not yet fully geared to function with maximum efficiency in the pressure-laden, changeable, ambiguous and conflict-ridden conditions which plague the activities of many newly developed service programs. Those comments are not intended to designate the usefullness of research, but to highlight the urgent need for support of systematic efforts to upgrade the sophistication, efficiency and adaptability of research capabilities.

2. The applied types of research which are in greatest demand by public and private administrators of social service programs should be seen as implemental to or as integral parts of broader processes of program planning, design or operations. For example, there does not exist today a fully-developed and tested methodology for planning or designing social service programs. Indeed, this critical process is only grossly conceived and is burdened with methodological confusion. People speak of "policy", "policy formulation", "program", "service-delivery systems", "practice", "program design", "planning", "program development", "pre-planning", "start up" and many other such concepts

without clear referrents or notions as to how one term is distinguished from others. Thus, if the contextual process, i.e., planning and operations, within which research is to make its major contributions are themselves confused and inefficient, the prognosis for the utility of research findings can hardly be optimistic.

Deficiencies in these broader processes manifest themselves in many ways, but two in particular deserve passing comment. First, research problems are not often formulated, nor studies designed within a specific context of program planning or operational activities. Program planners and operators are not the principal source or stimulus for research studies. Those who are can be located in universities and private research organizations at some cognitive distance from the activities and needs of local programs. In many instances, their research is motivated by private interests, and is justified by some general notions as to how their prospect of findings might be used in program planning and operations. Since research, therefore, is not generally a direct outgrowth of specific planning and operational activities, its findings all too often are irrelevant or otherwise inappropriate for actual application.

Second, there continues to be a complete absence of awareness that there is a difficult and time consuming process by which research findings are translated into specific program activities. Somehow it is naively believed that given the "right" information, program activities will magically emerge. Without laboring the point, it is apparent that the process is much more complicated. However, failure to develop and test systematic conceptions of design processes leaves many potentially useful research findings unutilized.

What is needed in these circumstances is relatively clear. There is an urgent need for (1) vastly increased support for research and development in the arts of planning, designing and operating social service programs; (2) increased support for research staff in planning and operational activities, and in-service training of program administrators concerning their use; (3) support for curriculum development and educational programs for the training of program planners and designers at the university level and for programs to upgrade program skills within agencies; and (4) the development of local planning capabilities, the converse of which is the adoption of policies and practices which would eschew such current practices as relegating planning to little more than an application completion process, or adopting a program model conceived in Washington, D.C. to a local community, or using public or private consultants who largely on their own develop proposals for funding and add little to the capability of the community to plan their own programs.

3. There is a need of long-standing for the development of planned and integrated programs of short-term and long-range research. By their very nature, one-shot, terminal research efforts without logical follow-up studies are at best of limited ability. Since current funding practices are generally of this order, efforts are made by researchers and administrators alike to broaden the scope of a research project to crowd as much as possible into a single design. This violates the sensible

principle of parsimony in the design of research and creates problems in the manipulation of the research enterprise and in control of the varibles under study. The results are broad, inconclusive research findings, often suspect in their reliability and validity, and which raise as many questions as they answer.

4. A significant part of the explanation for the stockpiling of unused research reports consists of the disparate form in which their findings exist. As suggested in an earlier paragraph a centralized effort is needed to evaluate the adequacy of relevant research data, to collate them, to develop them in terms of their program implications and in processed form to distribute them broadly. These are not simple tasks. They require personnel specialized in program design and research as well as in various fields of human service. Further their accomplishment is likely to be both time consuming and costly. But the expense will be a tiny fraction of the total research expenditures, little enough to insure broader utilization of costly research findings.

As a final word on the lack of utilization of research findings, it should be pointed out that not all of the activities labelled as research are intended to produce data for use in planning or operating local service programs. Increasingly of late many research projects have been founded for what might be described as "administrative" reasons. For example, surveys have been conducted to supply information to federal agencies which can be used "on the hill." In other instances they are primarily designed as a form of monitoring to insure that federal agencies are knowledgeable about what is happening in the field. Some of the so-called "evaluation studies" serve a similar function or are designed to be investigative in character. These points modify only slightly existing concern with the utilization of research findings. However, where the need for better basic research is so urgent and the problems so difficult, one may question the expenditure of scarce research funds for such purposes. These purposes may be completely legitimate, but there are other means by which they can be achieved.

These rather broad-gauged comments are as applicable to the planning and operation of new careers programs as they are to manpower and other human service programs. In all they are intended to stress the need for more and better research as contributions to more effective policy formulation, to program design and to operations. This does not suggest that essential program planning and operations should come to a halt awaiting definitive research findings. This is neither possible nor desirable. However, it is reasonable to expect that in the course of these activities every effort would be made not only to utilize fully existing research data and conclusions, an expectation which is not often realized but to identify critical data gaps, issues and assumptions as the basis for parallel research activities. The latter is another expectation which is still far from fulfillment. Clearly, it is folly to fail to provide sufficient support to correct recognized deficiencies in the knowledge base upon which hastily and inadequately developed new careers programs have been funded. It is towards this end that the present research guide is addressed.

The guide's format has been rather simply organized. It identifies major problem areas and recommends specific problems which are considered to deserve development as research studies. The guide describes the major dimensions of the problems selected, their causes where known, and where it seems necessary, their significance for new careers policies and programs. Broad methodological recommendations are also included, although they are not stressed. It has been assumed that the principal contribution of the guide lies in the identification of major program problems. Meaningful discussion of alternative research designs and the conditions with which they may vary would expand the guide beyond reasonable limits. Further, it is not clear that program administrators are particularly interested in detailed design recommendation, while researchers have no special need of them.

An effort has been made throughout to find some common meeting ground between a "top-down" and a "bottom-up" approach to research recommendations. That is, problems requiring research may be viewed from the standpoint of local programs or of national agencies. These are not necessarily antagonistic approaches, but they do involve different imperatives which influence what one defines as necessary and relevant. Nevertheless, principal weight has been given to the research needs of local programs.

The Guide is organized in four closely related volumes which are ordered to approximate the sequence of activities usually involved in planning, operating and evaluating a new careers program. Volume I relates to program planning or pre-planning and discusses the major research issues involved with clarifying and applying the concept of new careers, delineating the appropriate target population, performing labor market and job analyses in human service occupations and identifying and assessing existing community resources. Volume II includes the research problems associated with designing and operating such program components, as recruitment, selection and training, project organization, education and supportive services. Volume III deals with the difficult problems of evaluating the impact of new careers programs on the career advancement of program participants, on agencies, on clients' needs and on professional structures and balues. The final volume delineates the special problems discernable in developing new careers programs within public schools and concludes with an examination of the issues involved in expanding training for human service occupations in secondary schools and community colleges. Each volume concludes with a brief discussion of those research areas and problems which are believed to be of highest priority and consequences.

VOLUME I

Assessing the Impact of the New Careers Program

Prepared by: The Center for Social Policy
and Program Development
Graduate School of Social Work
New York University

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and Program Development
Graduate School of Social Work
New York University

New Careers Concept

Introduction

This section is addressed to the local project planner attempting to launch a new manpower project in his community. It will assume the hypothetical position that the planner need not be committed to the New Careers concept but may choose any program that he determines will ameliorate problematical conditions in his locale. Whether or not a new careers approach is appropriate, should be decided by careful conceptual analysis by the project planner.

The discussion stresses the theoretical implications of new careers philosophy, which is not limited to its development and application under the Office of Economic Opportunity. Instead, the concept is extended to all programs related to upward mobility opportunity for paraprofessionals whether funded by O.E.O., the Department of Labor, the Office of Education, etc.

Before initiating a project the program planner should assess the overal concept of new careers from at least three perspectives--

1. Is New Careers in fact the most appropriate program vehicle for the needs of the community or might another manpower or anti-poverty program be more suitable?

Questions must be addressed to two particular aspects of the concept in order to assess its impact as an anti-poverty and manpower strategy. First, what are the major local goals to which the concept needs to be related? Does current experience indicate that the program is likely to reach these goals? In what aspects does the program appear to be successful and in which problematical? Second, what are the unique features of this concept which distinguish it from other specific programs aimed at the same or similar goals and social problems? Do these unique features enhance the impact of the concept? Does the impact counterbalance any increased difficulties that these features might create?

2. If New Careers in theory is likely to be applicable to the local situation, does the community possess the resources necessary to implement the concept in order to make New Careers a viable program?

3. How can the program problems encountered by program planners or administrators in other communities be avoided in this community?

Discussion of the program implications of the new careers concept will focus upon the first and the third of these perspectives; the second will be dealt with in a later section entitled, Community Resources.

New careers programs theoretically aim at alleviation of three interrelated social problems. Although funding agencies and communities may vary in their stress upon individual goals, the rhetoric of new careers requires they should be completely intermeshed so that the fulfillment of one is not a sufficient nor adequate outcome for a New Careers project. In brief these goals include:

A. Antipoverty Objectives

The new careers concept is viewed as a way out of poverty for the unemployed and underemployed. According to major spokesmen for this approach program participants will be raised from a poverty status both economically through the wages they receive as paraprofessionals, and socially through enhanced self-images produced by successful performance in helping occupations in human service fields.

Although new careers programs recruit, train and place persons from various economic and social strata, a change in unemployment or underemployment conditions in the depressed areas of the country is a major objective of the national concept. To the extent that a new careers program recruits and holds persons who have been unemployed or underemployed, succeeds in placing persons who have not been placed by other training programs; and, offers real opportunity for upward career mobility, the new careers approach can be said to be reaching its anti-poverty goal.

B. Manpower Objectives

In relation to its manpower objectives new careers programs foresee the establishment of a graded series of lower-skilled positions which will lessen current manpower needs for human service professionals. Such positions are likely to have important implications for future needs and labor deployment in various human services through the formal restructuring of professional positions.

> The new careers concept has as a point of departure the area of jobs normally allotted to highly trained professionals and technicians but which could be performed by the unskilled, inexperienced and relatively untrained worker.*

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*Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, New Careers for the Poor (New York: The Free Press, 1965), page 13.

For example, it is held that shortages among professionally accredited social workers may be alleviated if many of the tasks which they currently perform and which, according to new careers theory, do not require professionally trained judgement were removed from their realm of responsibility and turned over to noncredentialled persons. This would allow the professionally licensed social workers greater discretion in how to apply the skills for which they were educated.

To check the increasing shortages of qualified teachers the new careers concept visualizes a career ladder instituted in public schools beginning with the position of teacher aide. With concomitant on-the-job training and formal education, a teacher assistant may rise to assistant teacher, associate teacher and finally to full-fledged teacher. The use of new careerists in the classroom is intended to relieve the teacher of many routine chores and allow them to concentrate on instruction and diagnosis. While performing paraprofessional tasks, new careerists undertake training and educational programs designed to qualify them for higher level positions. Thus, the new careers program attempts to relieve current work loads while preparing new careerists for future needs.

New careers manpower objectives also have other ramifications. In creating new positions in occupations which had not been previously institutionalized they may succeed in broadening services. For example, home health aides and numerous types of outreach workers offer totally new services to the community. The creation of these new careers positions closely ties in with the third objective.

C. Institutional Change Objectives

As the third objective of new careers program, institutional change is not aimed at filling jobs nor providing income for the poor. Though passionately advocated and heatedly opposed, no clear definition of institutional change has yet emerged. Full realization of this objective obviously requires greater clarity than it has received to date. Of the three new careers goals this is the least traditional to manpower programs and most subject to misinterpretation.

Nevertheless, institutional change objectives appear to be principally directed particularly at those human service institutions which serve poverty populations. It is maintained that institutions within poverty communities are not adequately serving these communities. To correct this situation maximum participation of the poor themselves is required in planning and operating needed services. The poor, as representatives of poverty and/or minority population, are believed qualified to perform qualitatively different services for the poverty community than are usually provided. At the same time that they are "bridging the gap" between service institution and client, as employees acting in an advocacy or community representative role, they are in a position to point up flaws in the service system which should stimulate appropriate reorganization of services offered and change in the attitudes and behavior of the professionals toward their clients. Thus, as a consequence of living in poverty, the poor are presumed to possess the knowledge and skills to influence the professionals who in concert with them will seek effective and creative change within the institution.

Institutional change, however, does not focus solely upon the user agencies.

> The New Careers approach allows not only for the producing of services, employment and attendant psychological benefits, but also stimulates a great variety of significant institutional changes--changes in the Civil Service system, the educational system, etc.*

While it is important for research to address the question of whether these changes actually do take place, the immediate issue in this section concerns the validity of the conceptual premises upon which anticipated institutional changes are based.

Goal Compatibility and Priorities

It is of utmost importance for the local planner to have an adequate empirical basis to enable him to assess whether the three program goals are compatible with one another, and to determine the optimum program design which will place varying levels of stress upon the different goals in accordance with the needs of his community. Are the goals of similar importance in other projects or do projects discriminate between goals? Does the latter approach lead to different program designs? In what respects? When information regarding such questions is assessed it should aid the planner to decide how to design his project in accordance with the needs of his community and to decide between new careers and uni-goal projects.

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*Riessman, Frank, Two Anti-Poverty Strategies: New Careers vs. The Guaranteed Annual Income, January, 1967.

In this statement there are actually three questions asked: What are the needs in the community? Are the goals compatible? How should priorities be incorporated into project design? The first issue will be discussed in the next section. The next two questions, although they may be referred to separately, should be explored in a single study to enable the collection of relevant evidence with a minimal expenditure of effort, time and money.

Such a study should be designed to describe and to assess different project organizations and the difference in program processes which result in placing varying amounts of stress upon one or another of the goals.

Research into goal compatibility and priorities within the new careers concept should begin with an analysis of a sample of project proposals. They should be analyzed for implicit goal definitions beyond the formal statement of program goals. Extrapolations should include the exact way in which particular objectives are defined and the emphasis placed upon one or another or the goals, and any specific statements of the relative amounts of time and money to be used in reaching different goals. If the proposals are not specific enough for assessment purposes it may be expedient to send questionnaires to the project directors asking for statements and rankings of goals.

Structured interviews should be conducted with project directors exploring the ways in which they approached the developmental processes within the project, and their underlying rationale. For example the type and content of training curriculums developed depends in large measure upon whether institutional change or manpower goals are selected for emphasis. The former goal necessitates that the requisite knowledge and ability to serve as vehicles for change must be a major component of the orientation and training of program participants. This adds a dimension to the program that mere placement of the trainee does not require. Respondents should be asked whether both goals would be equally stressed during the training process and where they have had the experience, what operational problems and consequences resulted.

Unique Features of New Careers Concept

The program planner in analyzing the viability of a conceptual model, must look beyond the objectives of the theoretical formulation to those aspects that are basic and unique to the concept.

The goals upon which the concept focuses may be compatible with each other and the needs of the community and yet there may be other program vehicles serving similar ends. An important criterion in judging whether the program concept should be implemented may lie in the unique features of this concept when contrasted with more traditional manpower or anti-poverty approaches.

Within the new careers concept there are several unique features which must be incorporated within a project design.

The triple goal itself is one unique feature. The following section suggests studies which are concerned with other aspects of new careers considered by its exponents and by knowledgeable project operators to lie at the core of the doctrine. These aspects are:

A. The opportunity for vertical mobility by the paraprofessional from an entry level job to full professional status if he so desires.

B. The opportunity for horizontal mobility from one paraprofessional position in a human service field to a paraprofessional position in another human service field.

C. The utilization of program participants as change agents.

D. The increasing utilization of new careerists within human service occupations, largely, though not exclusively, in the public sector.

E. The necessity of obtaining a firm commitment from the user agency that it will continue the employment and training components after the project relinquishes its responsibility toward the trainees.

A. The Career Ladder

The career ladder is the vehicle which outlines the steps by which a new careerist can work his way with accompanying education through a series of positions to a professional career according to his preference. He may seek released time for schooling to continue up the ladder through an Associate and Bachelor of Arts degree and beyond, or remain at any given position with pay increases commensurate with the amount of time on the job.

It is, of course, of critical practical import for project planners to know whether actual vertical mobility has been opened for new careerists elsewhere with commensurate salary increases; whether the concept of career ladders can be realistically implemented. If new careerists are not in fact moving into positions for which they would not normally qualify then the program is merely placing them in terminal or "dead-end" jobs, and a simpler project design would serve the same purpose. Towards this end, a longitudinal study should be launched which would trace the career progress of entry-level new careerists and of other para-professional workers in the same or similar occupations and institutions to determine the degree and rate of upward mobility of the two groups.

Overall analytical comparison of the employment histories of these two groups will identify whether or not differential upward mobility occurs for new careerists. It is essential to analyze these findings by: socio-economic characteristics, past employment and educational histories, sex, age, ethnicity, etc. to ascertain the full impact of the project upon all participants. Important aspects of mobility should be investigated such as: the time intervals between changes in position and between pay raises; the number of pay increments received during specified periods of time at given positions; the evaluation criteria used to determine upgrading and/or increments; differential status recognition, etc.

The depth and extent of desire among new careerists for professional status and the degree to which their desire is matched by capability in the perceptions of the project staff will aid the planner in deciding whether the extra cost of providing such opportunities actually meets the needs of the target population or whether the same amount of money and preparation devoted to producing more jobs though less opportunity may suit their needs better. Opinions of new careerists about the upgrading process should also be sought, including such items as the amount and kinds of pressures exerted upon them to move upward and to enroll in school and whether they find such pressures supportive or disruptive.

In many communities new careers programs have not been in existence long enough for findings in upward mobility opportunities to be definitive. Nevertheless, a research undertaking should be launched which would introduce uniform data collection instruments into the personnel procedures of these programs so that as new careerists change positions, either vertically or horizontally, receive pay increases, leave their jobs, etc. the data can be sent to a central data bank. For example, exit interviews can be constructed so that uniform questions will be asked and reasons for withdrawal submitted to the central data collecting service.

B. Lateral Mobility

The issue of mobility opportunities central to the concept of new careers is not limited to career ladders and to upward mobility. Central to the concept is the idea of "career lattices" as well. The idea is that the training received and skills acquired during the performance of a paraprofessional job in one human service field should be transferrable to other types of human service agencies and fields. Thus, an out-reach worker in a Community Health Center should be able to transfer to a comparable position in a social welfare center with no penalties of salary or status.

A longitudinal study should be undertaken to determine the form and extent of lateral mobility which is open to and utilized by the new careerists and the extent to which this is dependent upon the nature of the entry jobs and the type of training agency utilized. A sample of "old-line" paraprofessionals that are similar in positions and personal characteristics to the sample of new careerists should be included within the study population. Since lateral mobility is a highly selective and often voluntary activity, the samples should incorporate those who have a need or desire to change jobs. The question is the extent to which such opportunities are available in other human service agencies and fields without additional extensive training, reduction in pay or substantial change in job classification.

Before tracing career progress, interviews should be conducted with samples of paraprofessionals enrolled in new careers type projects and those who are not. Questions should be asked regarding the desire to change laterally, and the influences from which this desire emanates. For example, does desire to change fields emanate from disatisfaction with current position, pressure from other project or agency personnel, or from a greater feeling of realistic opportunities for change and sense of personal worth gained through new careers training and job experience? Once analyzed a longitudinal follow-up of those workers expressing desire to change fields should be mounted in order to assess the ease or difficulty by which such transformations take place.

Analysis should assess the differences in desire to change and the consequent histories of the two groups. Efforts should also be made to determine whether real opportunities for lateral mobility are uniform for the entire population or affects only particular sub-groups.

One further basis of anlysis is important and should be included in the study. This is the extent to which new careerists can move from parallel service systems, e.g., community mental health clinics into more traditional institutions such as hospitals.

C. Use of Program Participants as Change Agents

Belief in the ability of the target population to improve the quality of services and offer new services to the poor is a further unique and central part of the new careers concept that must be subjected to systematic research scrutiny.

To attain the institutional change objectives it is necessary for program participants to think of themselves as change agents and as community advocates. Observation of trainers and aides and interviews with new careerists have raised the question of whether they actually perceive themselves in this role or whether they are mainly concerned with doing their job as directed by their supervisors without question. Interviews with a random sample of persons in aide and assistant positions should collect data about their personal goals within the project as well as the goals which they perceive that the project administration and their supervisors hold for them. Their opinions of the need for and the feasibility of the institutional change objective and the reasons for these opinions should also be analyzed.

Factor analysis of respondents should be performed by socio-economic characteristics, welfare recipient status and prior involvement in community action activity. The last is important since new careers programs have been charged with selecting persons who have been active in community of total occupational fields as well as particular career lines and service settings within each field, systematic surveys are required to document these differences for use in program planning, in order to allow the project planner to foresee the relative difficulties to be encountered in launching his program in alternative service fields. It will also aid him in deciding whether to gear his project toward one service field or to diversify, giving the option of selection of field to the enrollees themselves.

A limited number of agencies should be purposely selected for their "typicality" and data collected on the processes involved in planning, budgeting, and implementing new careers within them. The emphasis within this study should be limited to the unique features and idiosyncratic conditions found in different service fields. Because of the specific use to which this data will be devoted, highly structured questionnaires should be addressed to user agency administrators and program directors. Factors which should be analyzed include: the amount of structural change which was necessary within a particular user agency in order to incorporate new careerists into staffing lines, arrangements made for on-the-job training, types of supervisory roles, attitudes of new careerists toward the particular field, acceptance by unions and professional associations, relative expenditures, etc.

E. Commitment From User Agency

Another unique feature of new careers programs is that both the training and placement components of the program design must be fulfilled. This necessitates a commitment from the user agency stating that social action movements on the presumption that they will continue to function as advocates of the movement while working within the system.

Another basis upon which this assumption rests is the hypothesis that greater rapport can be established between a person in a similar life situation to the client and the client. This similarity is felt to enable the new careerists to "bridge the gap" between the clients' world and that of the social service institution. It is generally supposed that when indigenous persons are utilized there occurs qualitative changes in the types of interchange, increases in the amount of confidences offered, and more relevant, immediate or stop-gap solutions to problems recommended.

A combination of depth interviews with a sample of clients who have been in contact with indigenous new careerists and non-participant observation of the interchanges taking place between a sample of clients and both professional and nonprofessional workers will lead to further understanding of the differences in the dynamics involved. Interviews should also be conducted with a sample of the client population that have been exposed to services from both professionals and new careerists.

Programs which utilize new careerists as outreach workers will serve as accessible targets from which to select a sample. Analysis should consist of a quantitative assessment of increases or decreases in number, frequency, and types of contacts made by the clients to the agency since their introduction to the agency, and a qualitative assessment of changes in interaction dynamics.

Among the variables sought should be:

...the perceptions by the clients and observers of the differences in the quality of the relationships established between the clients and the two types of workers,

...differences in topics initiated by clients,

...the extent to which the relationships motivated clients to action in resolution of their problems,

...differences in expectations on the part of the clients that aid required would be expeditiously delivered, and

...descriptions by clients and observers of factors which might account for any differences perceived.

Other changes anticipated in the nature of the services due to the employment of the poor will be discussed in Volume III.

D. Human Service Fields

Program operators are becoming increasingly aware that there are differences within human service fields which present different design problems. One example is the presence or absence of paraprofessionals in a field prior to the introduction of new careers. In the field of health, particularly hospital care, there have been paraprofessionals for decades while there have been none in the instructional aspects of education. Another important difference between the two fields is that in health, there are already institutionalized a widely defined and accepted hierarchy of skills, tasks and positions, while in education, particularly in classroom instruction, an ordered separation of tasks is a totally new phenomenon. While these differences are being recognized, both in terms as employer of new careerists it will maintain both the employment and the educational arrangements decided upon after the project has completed its formal obligations to the participants.

Whether the agencies honor their commitments is an important datum for the project planner. Unlike other programs which are often considered successful if the participants simply complete training and acquire the skills necessary for placement, new careers must have a placement commitment before training is begun.

The length of time a user agency actually maintains this commitment and the changing role of the new careerist within that agency is an important indicator of whether the program as a whole can realistically work. A follow-up study should be undertaken within each occupational field of a sample of new careerists within agencies which are no longer related to the project funding source. Analysis of the reasons offered by the agency administrators for abiding and not abiding by their commitment would help local planners evaluate the viability of the concept in terms of long-term duration and guide them in effecting instructions for funding and contractual arrangements.

Dissemination of Evaluative Findings

Whether the concept of new careers has merit, in the final analyses depends upon the total impact of implemented programs. The new project planner is not in a position to contract evaluative studies of other projects but their data sources exist which should be made available to him. Of special value are evaluation studies which are geared toward testing the efficacy of new careers projects, and its components in achieving new careers goals; determining where obstacles remain; and predicting the degree of generalization of the findings to other communities.

Before launching of a new project, decision-makers should assess the known results of other projects, and the problems they confronted. Examinations of this kind will also help in identifying alternative strategies to achieving new careers goals.

This section has been devoted to the task of providing the local planner with basic research suggestions geared to assessing the principal aspects of the new careers concept. Without some basis on which to weigh the relative conceptual merits and deficiencies of a particular program theory, the planning and implementation of any social action project will be at best haphazard.

Past evaluation reports of new careers projects should be disseminated to local planners in such a fashion that they maximize their usefullness to program planning activities.* Both present and future project planners and operators would benefit from total evaluation efforts which record the planning and operating processes of new careers projects.

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*Currently there is a need, which effects new careers specifically as well as other social action programs, to improve existing and vitally necessary evaluation research and feedback techniques. Thus far, most available evaluation studies of projects modeled on the new careers concept have used scattered site visits while the projects are on-going and have not assessed nor analyzed the planning or negotiating process nor traced the development of any single project.

Efforts should be made to design and implement a codification system of completed evaluation reports and a process of dissemination to new careers projects begun. Such reports should include long-range impact studies as well as short-term efforts to detect problems and obstacles which provide immediate feedback to project staffs. Where the data are likely to prove sensitive or embarrassing, ways can be found to mask the identities of the project involved or to maintain confidentiality.

Lastly, content analysis of the literature of new careers, particularly workshop and conference preceedings, would serve immeasurably to educate program planners and operators in ways of overcoming or at least foreseeing problems that may emerge in the development of their projects.

The Population to be Served

To plan an effective program of services for a given population requires intimate knowledge of that population in relation to the goals of the program. Such knowledge is essential for the definition of viable program objectives and the design of relevant program services. It is obviously difficult to imagine the development of an effective plan for the delivery of qualitative services in ignorance of the characteristic behavior patterns, the subjective attributes, the major problems and capabilities and the major environmental influences which affect the target population. To the extent that planning does occur in a knowledge vacuum, the services delivered are likely to be hit-or-miss affairs, characterized in the main by wastefulness and, at best, by indifferent success. The point, which needn't be labored, applies to the planning of new careers programs as it does to manpower and other services.

Although the need for information about all aspects of the population to be served is wisely acknowledged, comparatively meager resources have been devoted to fulfilling this essential requirement. In common with those who plan and operate other manpower programs, new careers program executives exhibit relatively little concern, either in interviews or in their publications, for target population information. Much more interest is devoted to the client population, to those who are admitted to the program. These are seldom equivalent populations. There are in fact adequate reasons for concluding that in new careers programs there are significant differences between them. Aaron Schmais has remarked that,

> "One problem associated with nonprofessional programs is the view that they are a homogeneous group;

> undifferentiated because they are all poor, or inexperienced, or undereducated, etc. Certain characteristics and attributes have been ascribed without appreciation of the differences, and contradictions among nonprofessionals." *

The nature, extent and reasons for these differences represent significant issues for empirical analysis.

It is true as program planners and operators claim, that accumulating knowledge about clients or trainees is useful in developing insights into the characteristic behavior patterns and attributes of the broader population of potential clients. However, such knowledge of clients as has been acquired is neither complete nor the product of systematic, empirical study. Developed in the course of pressure-laden program activities, this knowledge is largely subjective and impressionistic. In this form it is neither as reliable, nor as available and comprehensive as information should be if it is to be useful to program policy makers and planners. Further, there is an implicit danger that unless genuine efforts are made to acquire target population data, program plans and ultimately program activities will be developed to serve only a select and possibly a small segment of the total eligible population.

Thus, the need for target population data for planning new careers programs appears to be thoroughly understood yet is relatively unsupported and neglected in practice. This anamoly can be explained by various related influences.

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*Aaron Schmais, Implementing Nonprofessional Programs in Human Services, Center for Study of Unemployed Youth, N.Y., 1967, pg. 50.

: As a practical matter comprehensive data about the population to be served are considered not essential as long as the number of new careers training slots are small in relation to the size of the population. In fact, applicants have been generally abundant. The task, therefore, has been to develop appropriate selection criteria and effective mechanisms for the selection of applicants and slotting them as quickly as possible into the program. Thus, a small number of training slots in relation to an abundant supply of eligible applicants ensures the new careers program operator a wide selection of trainees, and removes the urgency of his need for target population data.

: The need for the acquisition of target population data is further reduced by current practices of federal agencies which reserve to themselves the responsibility for making major program design decisions. These decisions appear as program and administrative guidelines. From the point of view of local communities, it is not too far from reality to characterize new careers and other manpower programs as packaged programs in which the cognizant federal agency contracts with a local agency for stipulated services. The situation is not completely monolithic since the local agency does have important decision-making responsibilities of its own which must be fulfilled, however, within the outlines of the program as defined by the federal agency. These constraints are not calculated to encourage the development of local planning capabilities, nor the time-consuming and expensive accumulation of target population information.

: The practices of federal agencies which arrogate to themselves responsibility for making major program design decisions is consistent with their unwillingness to provide local agencies with the time, money and other resources required to plan and to undertake planning studies. This situation may be understood in part by heavy political pressures exerted on federal agencies for immediate and visible results. Even with new, untested programs, it has become common practice to put the program into the field now, and patch it up later. Under this dictum, target population studies and planning generally are not regarded as essential.

: Nevertheless, federal agencies are clearly aware of the necessity to accumulate local data and to encourage the development of local planning capabilities. Since instances of local planning which were more heavily supported in the past proved relatively unsuccessful, these activities are poorly supported in the present. Still, federal agencies seek to encourage the development of local planning capabilities, at least in their rhetoric, much of which is sincere, while denying it tangible support and viewing local planning efforts with great doubt and pessimism. The cycle is vicious. Among the consequences of this situation are serious deficiences in empirical knowledge about target populations and other vital issues and inadequate development of local planning capabilities. Thus, there are few local instrumentalities available to urge or to make use of research findings.

One last point remains to be noted in explanation of the relatively low priority and support accorded the acquisition of target population data in planning new careers programs. This relates to the possibility of a conflict of goals inherent in the new careers program itself. On the one hand, its objectives are not only to employ the poor but to improve human services by supplementing professional manpower which is in short supply and by achieving institutional change. Now this is a rather complex set of objectives, which is susceptible to rather different program emphasis. The realities of dealing with human service agencies, however, appear to have led to a singular program thrust upon supplementing professional manpower shortages in order to increase the ability of the agency to perform its current functions. Thus program primacy is given to the needs of the agency and the requirements of their jobs rather than to the needs and capabilities of the poor. This does not imply that many poor people may not be adequately served by this approach. However, emphasis on job and agency needs tends to reduce pressure for comprehensive knowledge of target population.

Though the new careers program in common with other manpower training programs appears to have been designed and implemented without detailed knowledge of its target populations, such knowledge continues to be essential for efficient and qualitative programming. There is no adequate way of estimating the extent to which the failures of the new careers program to serve the needs of its clients is due to a lack of understanding of their characteristic patterns of behavior, attitudes and needs and of the social conditions which affect them, but it is undoubtedly a factor of central importance. Ultimately, the monetary and social costs involved in program failures related to a lack of target population data may be greater than that which is required to obtain such information in the first place.

In the remainder of the chapter, a number of major research questions have been selected for discussion. As noted in previous paragraphs, interest in these questions is shared by new careers and other manpower programs, a situation which should facilitate research support, but which has not yet done so.

Accumulating and Assessing Existing Data

The imperative need for target population and other data upon which to develop service programs does not inevitably suggest an immediate round of new empirical studies, at least not as a first step. Certainly, our knowledge of the poor and of the human condition generally is inadequate and must be continually augmented. On the other hand, there is much that is known and usable. It is wise, therefore, to address the problem of accumulating such information about the target population as is available, assessing it for validity and for relevance to the requirements of planning new careers programs and developing the means for updating it.

What is suggested here is the organization of a bank or disaggregated data about local target populations and their local conditions. Such localized data are not simple to come by. Government publications by and large present statistical information which have not been disaggregated in a form which can be readily assimilated by local planners of new careers programs. The Department of Labor's recently innovated Urban Employment Surveys in the slum areas of six major cities promise to provide much useful data to the planners in those cities, including questions on manpower training, barriers to employment, lifetime work experience and attitudes towards work. In addition, individual communities may have been the subject of local studies by university and other researchers.

The data bank, which should be computerized, may be organized by use of one or more techniques. Information may be obtained through mailed questionnaires, through interviews or through some combination of the two. The character of the information to be accumulated will have to be detailed rather specifically. In general, such information will be developed in terms of the range of employment-related behavior and experiences of the poor, their psychological attributes the social conditions in which they live and the broader social forces which influence their present and potential employment situation. In general, such information may be obtained from a variety of public and private agencies--employment service offices, departments of public assistance, schools, hospitals, colleges and universities, settlement houses, social service agencies and many others. Clearly, the agencies which will serve as sources of data will vary from one community to another.

The character of available information will also vary widely from agency to agency. It may or may not be compiled, reliable, comprehensive or even accurate. The comparability of data from one agency to another will also be problematic. The difficulties involved in this enterprise are not to be minimized. However, careful assessment of the information accumulated should produce a set of usable data which can serve as

(a) a more adequate underpining for program development than the intuitive, rather helter-skelter type of information that is currently employed, and

(b) as a basis for organized efforts to expand knowledge through the identification of major gaps and inadequacies. How much more relevant and usable research findings would be if the design of studies were addressed to expanding a data base in specific areas in which it was found wanting for the purpose of planning new careers programs. A data bank would also provide a more adequate basis for assessing and for employing the findings of studies of comparable target populations in other communities.

Clearly, a data bank which incorporates target population information is expandable to include data on labor markets, available community resources, feedback and evaluative findings on new careers and other manpower programs and such other information as may be necessary for the planning and operation of new careers programs. The task is complex and is likely to be more difficult and costly in its initial development than in its updating and expansion. This, however, is conjectural. What is clear is that the systematic development and continuous refinement and expansion of an organized data bank is capable of making a most significant contribution to effective policy formulation, and program design and operations.

In regard to the research issues discussed throughout the remainder of the chapter it should be understood that considerable data and experiences already exist which should be updated and assessed for use in planning new careers programs. In many, perhaps in most, instances, data are lacking and will have to be acquired through newly designed studies.

Job Market Experiences

Effective designs of new careers programs require a complete understanding of the range of the needs and work-related capabilities of those who are potential clients of the program. It is important, therefore, to develop a comprehensive picture of the experiences of potential clients on their previous jobs and their reactions to these experiences. Inevitably, the behavior and emotional responses that new career trainees bring to the program will be consequences of many influences, which are composed to a significant degree of previous work and related experiences.

Empirical development of this area of knowledge is a formidable task, which will not be quickly or easily completed. Further it is susceptible to many conceptual and methodological approaches. Case studies and other forms of longitudinal studies are most useful for probing in depth the character of different types of job experiences and their effects on the poor. This is not to suggest that cross-sectional surveys are not also of value. Ultimately, what is desired is an understanding of the patterns of job experiences and the dynamics of their relationship to the behavior and subjective responses of the poor.

Studies may be mounted in the following broadly conceived areas:

Preparation for Work: Since the new careers program is essentially a training and educational program, planners should have a firm grasp of the types of formal and informal work-related learning experiences to which potential trainees have been exposed in the past. He will need to know which learning situations and methods appear to be effective for which groups of potential trainees and the factors which make for learning success and failure. In this connection comparative studies across social class lines are particularly useful as an aid in developing objective perspectives of the learning patterns of the poor. Such studies should selectively embrace the totality of formal and informal preparatory methods and programs in use in schools, correctional institutions, in settlement houses and other social service agencies, in other government sponsored manpower training programs, in peer groups, families and other informal groups. Vocational training in the military services also constitutes a potentially useful source of data and insights into the learning patterns of the poor. More specifically studies should seek to determine who is being trained; how training is conducted and towards what objectives; the structure, duration and intensity of the training; their effects on the acquisition of knowledge and skills and changes in attitudes; the perceptions of trainees and those responsible for training and their outcomes in terms of actual employment.

Employment Experiences: The plan or design of a new careers program will have to consider not only the types and outcomes of work preparation activities of potential trainees, but their actual work experiences as well. From one perspective employment may be studies as another significant learning experience. But, the design of the training program must reflect a knowledge of the range of characteristic responses of potential trainees in various work situations. Measured against the range of accepted behavior in the positions for which they are to be trained, such knowledge provides an essential set of inputs to the design of training programs.

As in the previous section there are a broad range of conceptual and methodological approaches to the study of the employment experiences of a given target population. Here, too, analyses of what actually occurs on a job may be enhanced by comparisons between working-class, middle-class and poor respondents. The specific areas within which empirical inquiries may be directed include:

: The job search--including the criteria, expectations and the processes employed in the decision to search for a particular type of job, or simply a job; the procedures and resources employed in locating a job; the problems and experiences encountered; and the reactions of the poor to these problems and experiences.

: The hiring process-experience, reactions and problems in respect to application forms, personnel staff, interviews and tests; job offers, received and not received and perceived reasons for receiving or not receiving a job offer; the incidence and reasons for failure to accept job offers.

: Introduction to job--nature of orientation or introduction to the job; type of training received; nature of assigned job responsibilities and reactions to these tasks; reactions and problems in respect to supervisors; co-workers, working conditions; expectations vs. actuality.

: Post-introductory job experiences focus upon reactions, problems and changes in relation to job responsibilities, supervisors, co-workers, working conditions and general attitudes towards the job; extent of participation in company and union sponsored training programs; knowledge and skills acquired through training programs and informal means; incidence of promotions, wage increases, transfers to other jobs.

: Reactions to and Cost of Underemployment--perceptions of and reactions to underutilization and low wages and their effects on attitude towards and incentives for work, skill retention, alienation, self-image, social outlook, various forms of anti-social behavior, health, need for public assistance, family instability and indices of personal and social disorganization.

: Relationship of the job to other activities--effects of the job on family life, peer group relationships, leisure time activities, self-education and education of children, health, etc. Conversely, what are the special problems in these areas--families, peer groups, health, etc. which tend to impede job performance or continuation on the job?

: Job termination--length of time on the job; the reasons for which and the manner in which job termination occurs; reactions to job termination and the special problems it creates.

Unemployment

In the life experiences of the poor, so frequently characterized by episodic, low-level employment, unemployment and the threat of unemployment are significant influences on the work-related behavior and attitudes of the poor. This is, of course, a completely unexceptional statement, a truism. Yet, there is much more to be known about the efforts of the poor to cope with problems of unemployment. We know little about the range of their reactions to unemployment and the extent to which joblessness ramifies into different areas of their lives and with what consequences. Unemployment will vary in frequency of occurence as well as duration, suggesting that there are different patterns of unemployment and employment and different patterns of entering and leaving the labor force. Much more needs to be known about these patterns and the differences in the types of individuals who adopt one pattern or another.

These and other questions concerning the nature and effects of unemployment deserve in-depth analysis. Studies of unemployment among contrasting groups appear to have particular value in determining their differential patterns and consequences. Studies might be conducted for example among groups of unemployment prone individuals, others who are more or less steadily employed, and, perhaps a third group who have managed to escape both intermittent unemployment and poverty.

There are a small but significant number of poor persons who are neither employed, nor seeking employment: they are not officially considered to be part of the labor force. Little is known about them: who they are, why they opted to leave or perhaps never to enter the labor force, and how they survive, without visible means of support. They represent a special and extreme case of system failure. In-depth surveys of this group should produce a substantial body of data, highlighting many of the aspects of unemployment and employment discussed above.

Behavioral and Personality Characteristics

In the last analysis, new careers training programs seek change in selected personal attributes of trainees in order to fit them for appropriate positions in human service agencies. Presumably, the specifically valued attributes of knowledge, skill, attitude, et. al., are derived from careful analyses of the positions for which training is given. On the other hand, the types of programmed services required to effect the desired changes in trainees must also reflect the distribution of these and related attributes in the population from which trainees are to be drawn. In short, new careers program planners must have incisive and comprehensive knowledge of the range of behavioral and personality characteristics of the population of potential trainees in order to design the services needed to achieve the required changes in these characteristics.

This and the previous section are to a degree overlapping. The last section viewed the target population as labor market participants and inquired into the nature of their work experience and its effects on the behavior and personality of members of the target population. In this section, the target population is approached through their work-related attributes, stressing studies which attempt not only to describe these attributes but to analyze them in relation to their consequences and possible causal influences, among which work experiences are an important factor. Obviously, the overlapping is not complete. Together they will yield a more comprehensive analysis than is possible if either approach is pursued separately. Further, each requires different analytic frameworks and the services of different research methods and specialists.

The research issues associated with work-related behavior and personality characteristics of the target population are innumerable. In addition, there is a significant lack of clarity concerning the individual characteristics that are associated with work, and the ways in which they predispose to success and failure on the job, particularly in human service occupations. Such knowledge, which is the product of intensive studies of job requirements and performance, is simply not available. Hence, the measurement of work-related characteristics of the target population must proceed in terms of general, commonly employed concepts and variables.

Employability

In the context of new careers programs, the concept of employability is generally employed to define readiness for employment in human service occupations. It is, however, little more than a catch-all term, which embraces a broad range of objective and subjective characteristics of individuals including previous experience, skills, attitudes, maturity, personal appearance, et. al., needed to satisfy existing requirements for employment. As such, the configuration of characteristics defining employability will vary from one human service occupation to another.

Nevertheless, the concept has specific and useful applications and is deserving, therefore, of more research attention than it has received to date. Its uses overlap program planning and operation. In this section operational definitions of employability and effective measurement devices are needed to assess the qualifications of target populations in relation to human service job requirements as essential foundations for new careers program planning. The results of such assessments can help shape the content of new careers programs and identify the size and characteristics of their potential client population. In addition, new careers programs must have the tools to make clear and specific assessments of applicants' work-related strengths and weaknesses at the point of first contact with them and subsequently to measure accurately the extent and nature of the changes in trainees which signify improvement in employability. These are essential tools for program management.

The development of operational definitions of employability and the means to measure it constitute a high priority research task. Their fulfillment requires intensive analyses of job requirements and job performance in specific human service occupations, the design of instruments to measure and to pattern relevant individual traits into an operational concept of employability and the testing and demonstration of the effectiveness of these operational definitions and measurement techniques on target and trainee populations. Such research and development efforts will have to account not only for differences in the definition of employability by human service occupations, but for differences in labor market demands and for sub-cultural definitions among the poor.

Inventory of Knowledge and Skills

As is true of any manpower training program, the design of new careers programs must reflect not only a clear view of occupational requirements but an accurate appraisal of the current status of potential trainees in relation to these requirements. Such appraisals facilitate efficient design decisions in regard to the content, methods and level of effort of the training program itself. It would be useful, therefore, to undertake a sample survey of the knowledge and skills in relation to selected human service occupations possessed by members of the target population. Such a survey should describe existing levels of such knowledge and skills, their distribution within the target population, the means and the sources by which such knowledge and skills were acquired, the terms in which they are couched, and the values placed on them.

Physical Health

The physical health of the poor has increasingly absorbed the attention of anti-poverty and manpower program planners. Ill health is believed to be associated with many of the problems of the poor which immure them in poverty. While this is a credible assertion the evidence for it is far from conclusive or enlightening. More specifically, the new careers program planner will need to know whether and how various forms of ill health are likely to affect performance both on the job and in the course of training. He will need to know too the time and resources required to diagnose and treat different medical conditions and their distribution within the target population.

This complex area of analysis is not likely to yield to a simple definitive study. Required information will result from a series of variously designed studies. However designed, studies in this area are likely to be most rewarding if they employ control of at least comparison groups. Post-facto studies, for example, may divide individuals in training and work situations into those who perform successfully and unsuccessfully and inquire into the difference in physical health between the two groups. If differences are present and are in accord with the general hypothesis that poor health contributes to poor performance, then an assessment can be made of the extent to which ill health contributed to poor performance in relation to other known influences. Other studies may be organized longitudinally using a cohort of individuals entering training or employment and proceeding in similar fashion to identify the extent to which health problems influence their performance. Or study designs may begin with groups of individuals who are known to possess specific forms of poor health and then compare their performance in training and on the job to a matched group of individuals who are in good health. These illustrations do not exhaust all of the approaches to the study of physical health in a work-training and employment context.

In the course of their studies, researchers will employ sex as an important explanatory variable. This applies certainly to all of the research recommended in this study on the population to be served. However, there are special reasons for focusing in-depth attention on this variable. The important operational problem related to sex was succinctly stated in a recent survey conducted by the University Research Corporation. It points out that:

> "Only about one out of five new careerists is male. Systematic at attempts must be made to improve the ratio--not only because of the obvious needs of unemployed and underemployed males but also because of the value of the male figure in many human service activities, particularly education."*

It is reasonable to assume that the predominance of female new careerists is closely, though perhaps not solely, related to the failure of new careers programs to attract male members of the target population. Of course, it is possible that males have lower selection ratios than females and/or higher turnover rates once selected. Nevertheless, the degree of attractiveness of new careers programs to eligible males is undoubtedly a factor of major importance. To remedy this situation, information is needed regarding the attitudes of target population males to human service occupations and fields, to new careers programs and to manpower training and anti-poverty programs generally. Their occupational aspirations and attitudes towards work, which may be deeply rooted in sub-cultural values systems, as well as their previous work preparation and exerpiences, should be carefully examined and contrasted with new careers requirements and opportunities. Such information needs and analyses can be incorporated in the design of studies discussed throughout this section or they can be handled more intensively as separate, short-term and rather inexpensive cross-sectional studies.

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*New Careers Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 6, June 1969

Subjective Attributes

The objectives of a new careers program may be described in purely behavioral terms: to prepare trainees for efficient and effective performance in retaining and progressing in a human service job. Nevertheless, it is recognized that there are many critical variables of a subjective nature that influence a trainees' preparation, his job performance, and ultimately his mobility. It is unnecessary to belabor the point that planners require as much information as they can get with reference to work-related subjective attributes of their target population.

What should be stressed is the planners need for understanding of how these subjective attributes tend to cluster and how these clusters tend to be associated with different segments of the target population, defined in terms of demographic and other objective characteristics. Finally, planners will need to have data relating to the differential performance of these population segments in work and training situations.

Fortunately, research methods, however crude, are available for analysis of the character and distribution of the work-related subjective attributes of the poor. This is not to say that existing techniques are completely equal to the difficult task of measuring these elusive traits; far from it. Indeed, support for the development and refinement of improved measurement techniques would yield a rich harvest. Still, useful analyses of subjective characteristics are not beyond the reach of current research capabilities.

It has been suggested that research in this area should provide new careers program planners with a typology of target population groups which reflect varying configurations of work-related subjective characteristics, and the differential training and job performance records of each population group. This task goes well beyond the analyses of the effects upon performance of any single subjective factor and assumes that traits will cluster into more or less identifiable major patterns. To achieve this research objective, a number of approaches are possible. For example, one may examine the subjective attributes based on existing research data, fit these clusters to existing work and work-training groups, and determine the differences in performance that exist among them. There are, of course, many other useful research designs that may be employed in this area.

The discussion below is organized around a number of subjective characteristics which are assumed to be work-related. Whether they are is a matter for research determination, as is the question of what other subjective characteristics are significantly related to work and to work-training. Here the researcher would be well advised to distinguish between work and training for work. The subjective characteristics that predispose for success are probably not identical in both instances. In any event, though the discussion treats these characteristics individually, research should be directed to developing clusters which can be used to identify segments of the target population and their differential performance in work and training situations.

1. Occupational Attitudes and Aspirations

Experience in manpower training and employment programs suggests, contrary to middle-class expectations, that the poor will not accept training or employment in just any job. For the planner of new careers programs, the fact that the jobs for which training is offered are in the public sector may introduce an additional complication. Further, occupational attitudes and aspirations of the poor may vary significantly with age, sex, sub-cultural values and a host of other factors.

It becomes important, therefore, for the new careers program planner to have comprehensive data about these attitudes and aspirations, scaled according to intensity of feeling and with particular reference to human service occupations. He should know how the poor define the characteristics of a "good" job and which aspects of human service jobs are likely to appeal and not to appeal to the poor. Conversely, he will wish to know who is likely to find various human service jobs appealing and who is likely to reject them. The planner will wish to know the reasons for various occupational choices insofar as they can be known, and how these choices vary over the chronological, occupational life span of the poor. Lastly, the planner will inquire into the degree of optimism and pessimism the poor feel in their ability to achieve entry into their desired occupation; their understanding of the kinds of activities, prepatory and otherwise, in which they must engage in order to enter the desired occupation; and the types of jobs and occupations they would accept as alternatives.

2. Attitudes towards Work

Negative attitudes or poor motivation towards work and misconceptions of the nature of work are often cited as factors associated with poverty and with severe employment problems among the poor. If this is in fact a valid judgment, it suggests the existence of a range of problems from recruitment to training and to full-time employment which must be anticipated and resolved within new careers programs. Accordingly, the design of new careers programs should be based upon data which measure and explain the distribution and intensity of the target populations' attitudes towards and conceptions of work. In-depth studies should probe the meaning of work and its place in the lives of the poor, relating it to such presumed alternatives as dependence on public assistance and earnings from illigitmate activities. Specific information should be provided regarding the many ways in which poor work motivation and misconceptions of the nature of work are manifested in recruitment, training and employment. Empirical studies should reflect on the importance of these attitudes and conceptions in achieving employment success, and of equal significance, whether they are deeply rooted in personality and resistant to change. As noted elsewhere, the design of studies in this area would be enhanced by studies which compare the responses of the poor with those of non-poor subjects.

3. Alienation

Alienation is an extremely fashionable term despite the fact that it has yet to be clearly defined. Behavioral scientists are still debating whether it is a simple or multi-dimensional concept. Some of the terms which have been associated with it and which in a sense define it are "powerlessness," "meaninglessness," "normlessness," "social isolation," "social pessimism," and "low self-esteem." One may also include low motivation and weak occupational aspirations, discussed in previous sections, as forms of alienation. For present purposes alienation may be thought of as a subjective condition which is manifested in many different forms and degrees.

All of this suggests the need for research which is designed to clarify the concept, measure its manifestations among the poor, and determine the manner and extent to which it affects training and employment of new careerists. One may also assume that a program of services should be designed to deal with the specific combinations of personality factors and social conditions which reinforce each other to produce alienation. Such data are not yet available. However, the issue raises yet another question which should be addressed by empirical analyses. Clearly, alienation is not unique to the poor: it exists among all social classes. Yet in dealing with this condition in a training and employment program, the new careers planner should know which of its aspects are unique to the poor and which are generic to the society as a whole.

In the design of such research it need not be assumed that alienation inevitably constitutes an impediment to training and employment. Its effects may be as variable as its forms. However, since new careers occupations generally stress goal-directed human interactions, policy and program questions may be raised concerning the ability of severely alienated individuals to render effective human services, and the capability of training programs to relieve severe forms of alienation.

4. Decision-Making

Entry into a new careers program, its completion and pursuit of a career in a human service occupation entails a host of decisions on the part of new careerists. The fact that these decisions are not unique to the new careerist does not lessen their importance. The point is well-recognized by program planners who seek to aid the decision-making processes of trainees through orientation programs, counseling, guidance, information services and countless other ways. Nevertheless, little is known about individual decision-making processes of the poor in particular. Empirical studies in this area should assist planners in aiding trainees to improve their use of information and other resources and to make their decision-making processes more effective. Towards this end, data should be provided about the types of questions and issues which the poor regard as requiring decisions; the inputs--of information, assumptions, experiences--they employ in arriving at decisions; the criteria they use in determining whether the question has been resolved; the steps or patterns which may be involved in reaching a decision; the extent to which responsibility for decision-making is shared with others; and the major constraints associated with effective decision-making.

Causal Influences

This chapter has been devoted to recommendations of empirical studies which are calculated to present planners with the type of data about target populations they require to design effective new careers programs. In the body of these recommendations, additional suggestions were made to develop insights into the factors which may have influenced the behavior or characteristics under study. This is certainly an acceptable procedure. One must first establish the phenomena that require explanation, before launching into studies of social causation. Further, program planners and operators are likely to continue to be principally concerned in the foreseeable future with "what" should be changed and "how" can it be changed, rather than with the etiology of the conditions which are assumed to require change.

As an addendum to the chapter, another approach to research studies will be briefly discussed. It is based on the assumption that selected social forces cause or influence various forms of work-related behavior and attitude in a target population. Research issues or problems can then be framed to determine its precise effects and the processes by means of which its effects are produced.

This is in a sense a reversal of the approach to research adopted throughout the chapter. It is intended to confirm and to extend conclusions of causal influence derived from previously discussed studies, and to provide validation of them: a requirement for the use of research findings which is seldom honored. It is capable of providing new perspectives and adding new dimensions to the search for cause and effect patterns, thereby, contributing to the essential development of causal theories. Such theories, incidentailly, are not at all academic in character, but fundemental to the formulation of program policies, strategies of change and the design of program services. Unfortuantely, in the so-called real world, they are implicit and assumed rather than explicit, and are based on political and moral values rather than on empirical data.

The social influences which produce various constellations of work-related behavior and attitude in any target population are perhaps legion. Those that come quickly to mind include poverty, discrimination, socialization, programs of public welfare, migration and urbanization, technological change, the development of minority group militancy and pride, and various economic and labor market changes. These and other powerful social forces are likely to be intertwined in complex networks of cause and effect, which should discourage the use of singular causal explanations and social remedies, but seldom does. Analysis and research into the operation of these forces have a long history, but relatively few efforts have been undertaken with the specific purpose of providing data for the development of policies and programs to supply employment assistance to the poor. Though complex and difficult, research of this type will yield high dividends in more effective policies and programs in new careers and other manpower programs.

Human Service Occupations and Careers

For many practitioners and students of new careers programs, the critical element in determining the success of the program consists of the availability of decent jobs with good working conditions, with reasonable stability and with opportunities for advancement through training and education. Offer people such jobs, it is said, and many common problems will be greatly diminished. The welfare recipient will choose to work, the so-called "hard-core" will be attracted, trainees will discover hidden sources of motivation, and ultimately, the incidence of crime, delinquency and rioting will be significantly reduced.

These assumptions are not unique to new careers programs: they are shared with other manpower training programs, most notably the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS). Both the JOBS and the new careers programs first place the trainee in a full-time job, and train him afterwards. The expectation is that the acquisition of the job will do more to motivate him than the reverse procedure, i.e., to train him with only the promise of future employment. Whether these assumptions and expectations are sustained in actual practice are important issues for evaluation research. However, this program thrust places a critical initial responsibility for effective job development on new careers and JOBS program planners. They must persuade employers to open and to create jobs for the disadvantaged, to hire them though they are likely to lack the usual qualifications, and to undertake to train out their deficiencies.

These are not simple tasks. For the new careers planner the task may be compounded by the requirements of the program concept. The jobs he opens and creates must also be careers. They must relieve existing shortages in professional and technical personnel, but be structured to fit the needs and capabilities of program participants and facilitate institutional change and improved services to the poor. They must provide maximum opportunity not only for vertical occupational mobility, but for lateral movement as well. Such movements are to be assisted not merely by in-service training, but by the opportunity to acquire ever higher credentials through formal education, each level of which is to articulate meaningfully with the career ladder. Thus, in many instances the planners' task will entail not only the development of jobs, but a significant and often a radical restructuring of the organization within which the jobs are sought. His difficulties are not likely to be eased by the fact that to fulfill these responsibilities he must deal with human or public service agencies. Public employers have been among the most reluctant to hire the poor. Merit systems and civil service regulations which govern job entry and advancement have proven difficult to change on behalf of the poor. Moreover, public employment is lower paying and lower in prestige than private sector employment and for these reasons usually less attractive to the poor.

On the other side of the coin there is increasing emphasis and concern with the inadequacies of public services and the social consequences of the failure of government to provide such services. There is also a growing public realization and confidence in the ability of the poor to perform many of the needed functions associated with the provision of human services and a greater requirement to involve them significantly and at many levels in the development and implementation of human service programs. At the same time, professional and technical manpower shortages in human service fields are likely to continue and perhaps to worsen in the years to come. In short, there is today an undeniable movement to enhance and develop the role of the non-professional in which the poor are playing a predominant role. Clearly, these trends supply vitally needed support to the new careers planner engaged in creating jobs for the poor.

Nevertheless, it should be understood that the new careers planner engaged in career development activities as an initial step in program design, is engaged in a function which presses hard against the limits of current methodology. This is *per se* a broad clue to the identification of research issues in the development of human service occupations and careers for non-professionals. However, the discussion of research problems and recommendations in this chapter is organized around the needs of new careers planners for data in two areas: Assessment of demand within individual human service fields for new careers and the development of methods and techniques for engaging in job analysis and design.

The Demand for New Careers

The new careers program planner in search of data related to current non-professional career jobs and future employment projection in human and public services is likely to find considerable moral support and some helpful hints, but little concrete assistance. Some of the studies that are germane to his interests have been summarized by Harold L. Sheppard.* Testifying to the growth of public concern, these studies document the conclusions that the present level of many essential public services is inadequate to meet public needs and that an expansion of services providing many more jobs is required. Many of the new jobs that could be created within new and expanded public services could be filled by persons with low entry skills and training. The estimates of the number of such new jobs are in the order of three to five million.** Further, it is fair to conclude that there is both a backlog of unmet public service needs and an undetermined amount of new or emerging needs for which planning has not yet begun.

All of this suggests to the new careers planner that the public service area contains a sizable number of demand occupations suitable for the disadvantaged and for non-professional development. There is, however, little local data available from the employment service or elsewhere which is of use to him in program planning. Moreover, the usual means for estimating current job openings and projecting future non-professional employment in human service occupations may not be appropriate or useful. These methods are more applicable to established, structured occupations and industries in contrast to public and human service agencies which are less inclined to be highly structured, rationalized organizations. Moreover, the availability of human service jobs for new careerists is to a significant degree dependent on the efforts of program planners and operators to persuade or educate and ultimately to demonstrate the viability and effectiveness of the new careers program to the operators of human service agencies.

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*"The Nature of the Job Problem and the Role of New Public Service Employment," the W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, Jan. 1969.

**In particular, see the report of the Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress, "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing, Vol. 1: Public Facility Needs, Dec. 1966. The Report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress "Technology and the American Economy," Vol. 1, 1966, pp. 35-37. And, "A Public Employment Program for the Unemployed Poor" conducted by Greenleigh Associates for the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1965.

Nevertheless, planners are not without the means required for determining which of the existing human service fields in the community offers the best prospect for the development of new careers. This complex assessment will be carried out in the face of severe restrictions in time, money and staff which are characteristic of the resources available to planners. As a result, rigorous, scientific studies of demand in human service occupations and industries is not likely to be available or considered viable by new careers planners. It is important, nonetheless, to initiate such research so that detailed and comprehensive findings may be available for incorporation by the planner in future programming. In the present, the planner who is seeking to establish or expand a new careers program may engage in a series of informal, short-term studies, bordering on fact-finding, which will permit him to decide which human service occupations and industries are likely to be most susceptible and available to the new careers approach.

Short-term Studies of Existing Structures

In developing new careers programs, planners may adopt a horizontal or vertical approach. That is, the program may seek to train new careerists in generic skills, such as counseling, which may be applicable in different types of human service agencies, leaving it to the agencies to adapt the skills of the new careerist to their specific job responsibilities. On the other hand, the new careers program any seek to train for a number of paraprofessional occupations which may be specifically needed in schools, hospitals and other human service agencies. If positions for which training is to be given has an "acceptable" potential for horizontal mobility. Both approaches, therefore, entail studies of a broad spectrum of a community's human services occupations and agencies.

To aid the planner in determining which occupations and agencies offer the best opportunities for new careers development, and which training strategy to adopt, short-term studies should be designed to elicit the following broad categories of information:

: The types and extent of current services supplied by human service agencies,

: The present organization of the agencies within the human service agencies surveyed, and the number and types of professional and non-professional positions that each contains,

: Average turnover rates and types and rates of job promotion and wage increases,

: Agencies which perceive a need for increase in services by type and percent of increase needed,

: Agencies' need for additional staff by type and number to meet present levels of service and to provide for needed increases,

: Types of jobs which could be filled at present by paraprofessional personnel; types of professional jobs which appear to be susceptible to restructuring and subsequent employment of paraprofessionals,

: Formal barriers, such as civil service regulations and inadequate budgets, to the hiring of new careerists,

: Attitudes and general receptivity of agency heads and decision makers to the development of a new careers program,

: Perceptions of clients of the extent to which each agency is meeting their needs; emphasis should be placed on current needs, and needs which require improved service.

The collection of data in these categories can be accomplished by a variety of methods which should be built into the study design. Much of it can be accumulated by analysis of reports and other documentary materials produced by each agency. Mailed questionnaires or informal interviews with key agency personnel or some combination of the two constitute the principal data collection instruments. Interviews with a sample of the clientele of the agencies included in the survey should be undertaken to give planners clues or leads to areas of service which might be improved or added. In many instances data obtained from agencies can be verified and expanded by inquiries directed to civil service commissions, bureaus of the budget and other governmental agencies.

Whether to include in the survey all or a selection of the human service agencies in a community is a question for local determination.

Inevitably, it will reflect the type and amount of essential resources available, knowledge of the community's needs and the agencies which serve them, and insights into significant political and bureaucratic conditions present in the community.

Special Studies

The proposed survey is intended primarily to supply planners with the type of data they require to select prospective human service occupations and receptive agencies for new careers development. It is not intended to be an in-depth analysis, since the nature of the planning decision and the constraints under which it will be made do not require it. On the other hand, there are other aspects of the decision to select particular occupations and agencies for new career development which should receive more intensive study. Both in interviews and in literature, students and practitioners of the new careers program reflect great concern for such questions as the obsolescence of certain human service functions; these effects of automation and other technological changes on human service agencies; the effects of economic and labor market changes on human needs and services; and, the projections of demand for human services in light of these and other potential major developments. The basic concern in all of these questions is to ensure the maximum extent possible that the jobs and careers created for new careerists have a high degree of permanence.

Studies of these and similar questions are susceptible to intricate analysis. Here, too, the constraints which normally apply to planning necessitate less complex and less comprehensive analysis. Studies in the form of position papers undertaken by experts using available historical and current data and their own specialized knowledge will adequately serve the needs of new careers planners.

Innumerable protagonists of new careers programs stress the emergence of new human service functions and occupations, many of which have proved to be amenable to the employment of those with low entry skills. Certainly this has been the case of Medicare, Model Cities, Headstart and the Anti-Poverty Program and other service programs during the past decade. In the next decade many profess to see an acceleration of the trend towards new human service functions and occupations accompanying increased efforts to grapple with urban problems. This eventuality strongly suggests the need for research and development of tested and reliable means for flagging the emergence of new skills or occupations which replace, supplement or are added to those which already exist. The significance of an "early warning" system lies in the fact that in the early stages of occupational evolution, while demand in high and hiring standards are loosely structured, new careers programs may be able to train and place many of the disadvantaged in human service occupations of great promise.

Deciding to Implement a New Careers Program

The surveys and special studies recommended above were intended to assist planners select those human service occupations and agencies which hold high promise for new careers development. Once this critical assessment and selection has been made, the agencies selected must be persuaded to implement the new programs under a variety of conditions including the guarantee of jobs for new careers trainees; the introduction of new occupations and career paths, new training programs and supervisory obligations; and, encouragement of college enrollment. From the user agency's point of view, this is not a simple, inconsequential program. Full implementation will very likely entail significant changes in its organization and profound effects on its present staff and on its characteristic ways of doing business. Hence, neither the agency's executives nor the advocates of the new careers program are inclined to take lightly the decision to implement the program. Indeed, it has often been noted that the success of the program is in no small measure dependent on the agency's complete commitment to the program.

The approach to the agency adopted by the new careers planner or advocate at first contact and throughout the agency's decision-making may well be a significant if not a critical influence on the agency's final judgment. Whether it is in reality should be a central question of nationally sponsored studies. The findings of such studies in specific human service fields can be generalized and offered as guidance to local planners. Accordingly, modified case studies or intensive analyses should be undertaken of the decision-making processes in agencies which agreed to adopt the new careers program and those which have either rejected it or have failed to arrive at a decision after a lengthy process of discussion or negotiation. To be of maximum use to new careers planners these studies should focus on--

:: The character of the commitment made by user agencies, i.e., the specific provisions or aspects of the new careers program which the agencies agreed to implement and any which they rejected.

: The objectives sought by user agencies which accepted the new careers program and the reasons for rejection among those who did not.

: The strategies, techniques, personnel, et. al., employed by planners and advocates in instances of success, failure and persistent indecision.

: The issues and problems raised in the course of decision-making by agencies included in each category; the principal means employed to cope with or resolve these issues, and the degree of success of each.

: The role of others, for example, professional associations, unions, governmental agencies, community groups and elected public officials, who were involved in the negotiation of decision-making process.

: The pattern of events, if any, of the major, sequential steps which appear to be characteristic of the negotiation or decision-making process.

: The major influences or conditions which are associated with acceptance, persistent indecision, and rejection of the new careers program by human service agencies.

Methods for Establishing New Career Paths

The decision by a human service agency to develop a new careers program sets off a series of critical activities that are rather unique among current manpower training and employment programs. These activities are addressed to the development of new jobs and career paths and to embedding these new layers of positions within the agency's existing organizational structure. This is perhaps the highest and most complicated form of job creation. Unlike job development efforts in other programs, new careers seeks not merely to open an existing job that was not previously available to the disadvantaged applicant nor to create a totally new job for him that did not exist before. They aim to develop and firmly establish in the host agency a carefully articulated hierarchy of new positions within given occupations in order to employ the disadvantaged and to provide maximum opportunities for their mobility.

New careers planners and operators have articulated an urgent need for the analytic and developmental tasks required to accomplish this complex task. It is to this end that the research recommendations contained in the remainder of this chapter are addressed. Recommendations will stress learning from the experience of others who have attempted to develop new occupational paths, research and development efforts to improve existing methods and techniques and exploration of totally new methods. Research recommendations will also be directed to the need for developing a systematic and holistic approach or models for the development of new career paths in human service agencies.

Survey of Efforts to Establish New Careers Paths

New Careers programs still have a relatively short history. Nevertheless, there is now available a modest inventory of efforts throughout the country to carve out new career occupations and paths for the disadvantaged in various human service agencies. Although there is much to be learned from these initial ventures, few, if any efforts have been made to analyze and assess their experiences. Accordingly, it is recommended that a nationally sponsored, in-depth survey be conducted of organized programs which have designed and established new careers occupations and paths. The survey should be nation-wide in scope, including as many different types of human service agencies as resources will permit. The study design should take account of variations in the type of agency responsible for producing the design of new careers paths: community action agencies, human service agencies, unions, and professional associations. It should include, if possible, situations in which new careers designs were developed for new as well as established structures.

In broad terms, the survey should focus on -

: The objectives and assumptions which guided the effort to design and establish new career paths,

: The methods, techniques and steps employed, including both a detailed description of what was done and why it was done,

: The data which were regarded as essential to the design, and how they were obtained and used,

: The personnel involved in the design effort, their background, tasks and organization,

: The principal difficulties encountered, the means employed to cope with them and the results achieved. Particular attention should be devoted to describing and explaining changes in the planned approach to the design effort.

: The form of the output, plan, or design of new careers paths. Assuming the product of the design effort to be a written document, what major types of information and assumptions does it contain?

: The activities involved in obtaining agreement and approval of the plan, and their consequences. Special interest should center on the manner by which the plan was presented to the total staff of the agency.

: The principal lessons to be learned from the design experience.

The design of new occupations and career paths suitable for the disadvantaged is regarded by program planners and operators as one of the most unique and critical aspects of the new careers program. Accordingly, their questions about it tend to be numerous and wide-ranging. As a consequence the survey design will also have to be sufficiently broad to encompass many of the following questions:

: In general, which agency is most capable of designing new career occupations and paths--the social service agency, a community action agency, the unions, the professional association, a private agency which specializes in personnel and organizational problems? Is the task most efficiently and expeditiously accomplished by the user agency or by an outside agency? What are the pros and cons with reference to these questions? In some combination of the two most desirable?

: What are the major differences in designing new careers occupations and paths for an established structure in contrast to one which is in the process of being established? How do they vary in requirements, methods, techniques and processes and in types of problems encountered?

: In designing new careers occupations and paths is emphasis placed on the needs of the agency's occupational structure, its basic goals and concepts and/or the effectiveness of its service delivery system? From another perspective, is emphasis placed on fulfilling the agency's manpower and other institutional needs, on the needs of the poor for permanent, meaningful employment with maximum opportunity for advancement, or some combination of these? How are these varying emphasis explained? What are their consequences for the methodology involved in the design process and design products?

: It may be assumed that the goals, objectives and purposes of an established agency are in some manner to be examined in whatever approach is adopted to the design process. How are these treated when they are differentially, and perhaps antagonistically defined by staff? When they are vague and poorly enunciated? When they are defined differently by those inside the agency and those, (e.g. clients) who are outside of it? Are new career occupations and paths generally designed to an agency's present goals or to anticipated future changes? How can the design be structured to account for future changes in an agency's goals and functions?

: Are efforts made to assess at least in broad terms the extent to which the agency's goals and functions are consistent with the needs of its clientele? If so, what methods are employed? Are measurable indices available, such as performance records in schools? Are clients and agency staff interviewed? Are there perhaps public records of complaints about agency service?

: Are institutional changes considered as objectives of the design process? If so, is it built into the structure of new occupations and career paths? How is this done? Or is institutional change more simply assumed to be a consequence of the employment of disadvantaged persons? Does the approach vary with the type and extent of change sought? What are the types of institutional change sought by those who design new careers occupations and paths?

: Are efforts usually made to determine the extent to which an agency or agencies are structured to permit upward mobility? How is this done? Where a system's ability to encourage upward mobility is considered to be low, are efforts made to change the system in order to increase internal mobility? How is this done and with what success?

: In most instances are totally new career ladders created, or are existing, inadequate career ladders developed further for disadvantaged paraprofessionals? What are the essential methodological and organizational differences between these two situations?

: Are special efforts or studies made to remove the formal and informal barriers to job entry, job maintenance and promotion or does this fall out in the course of organizational and job analysis? In order to nullify their effects, how were these barriers dealt with?

: Are all administrative, professional, technical, clerical and low-skilled positions subject to job analysis or is a selection of agency positions made? On what basis is a selection made? On the other hand, are all employees in the positions selected subject to job analysis? How are significant differences reconciled in the functioning of employees in the same position?

: Which of the following methods are most commonly employed in job analysis: self administered questionnaires, logs and diaries, personal interviews, observation, critical incidents, conferences, use of experts, manuals and written job descriptions and others? Do these methods vary with the type of personnel or position involved or with some other consideration entirely?

: Dr. Sidney Fine's systems approach to job design is one of the few comprehensive approaches available. It has been the subject of considerable discussion, and in some instances, critical comment. The proposed survey should include an analysis of the experiences of those programs which have attempted to employ encountered and the type of modifications instituted.

: If some form of job analysis is employed to identify the essential components or units of activities of professional and technical positions, what criteria are employed to distinguish between professional and non-professional tasks? These criteria may not be difficult to define at either extreme of a continuum of task complexity, but they are likely to be much more problematic in the middle ranges.

: Once the units of activity of professional and technical positions have been classified, what are the means employed to regroup them into professional and non-professional positions and career ladders? In respect to the latter -

- What assumptions are made about the types of tasks that result in job satisfaction and personal growth?

- How is a determination made that the restructured jobs will provide a full day's work?

- Are performance standards as well as worker qualifications defined for each position? By what methods?

- Are the rungs on a new career ladder developed in such a manner that they do or do not overlap slightly? Phrasing this question in a slightly different way, it inquires into the transferability of some of the knowledge and skill acquired at one level to the level above.

- Is each rung of the ladder really an essential step to the next one? How is this determined or assurred?

- Does the top rung of the non-professional ladder lead realistically to the bottom rung of the professional ladders? Is there some form of overlapping between the two ladders?

- What steps are taken to insure maximum opportunity for lateral mobility?

- How are wage scales for non-professional positions determined? What are the problems encountered in establishing wage scales. Does the effort to establish wage scales for non-professional positions create an impact on other aspects of the wage structure of the agency?

: Since it may be anticipated that the design of new careers occupations and paths will substantially involve the restructuring of existing skilled and professional positions, a similar set of questions should be judiciously applied to these positions. The survey should describe and analyze how the entire new careers design process handles the reconstituted professional positions.

: The survey could serve a particularly useful function by comparing the applications of the new careers design process in the different human service fields. While application of the process may vary from one agency and one section of the country to others, one may hypothesize that the variations are likely to be most significant between the human service fields.

: Within each human service field the survey should attempt to develop a typology of non-professional job titles and a comparison of job descriptions for each title. There appears to be a proliferation of different job titles for similar positions which may create problems for the lateral movement of new careerists and for the subsequent production of a dictionary of occupational titles for new careers.

The primary focus of the survey as suggested in this lengthy discussion should consist of the processes and organization of the design of new careers occupations and paths. There is, however, one related aspect of the design process that also requires special attention. This has to do with the development of strategies of implementing the completed new careers design. The issue specifically centers around the necessity for anticipating resistance in various forms from agency staff and administration, from professional associations, unions and possibly other organized groups in the local community, and in some instances in the state. Yet, the successful implementation of the new careers design will in large measure depend upon their cooperation. The survey, therefore, should attempt to describe and analyze the efforts made by various new careers programs to identify the forms and content of such resistance and suspicion and the strategies developed to deal with them before, during and after the design has been completed. Conversely, many of these same groups may in fact be supportive of the new careers efforts.

Who these agencies are, why they are supportive and how the new careers programs relates to them in the course of the design effort should also be stressed in this aspect of the survey.

In sum, the survey should be designed to embrace the totality of activities involved both in designing and in implementing new careers occupations and paths.

Surveys of Job Career Design in the Private Sector

However, intricate the design of new jobs, occupations and careers may be, it is not a new process. It has been implemented formally and informally for decades in the private sector of the economy, and in various public sector fields, other than the human service fields. Detailed studies of the application of job and career design processes in selected private and public industries are likely to yield instructive findings for the development of the design process in the human service field. Such studies should take as their point of departure the problems and concerns thus far encountered by new careers planners in applying the process (see previously discussed section). Emphasis should be placed not only on methods employed, but on their effectiveness in actual operation. Private sector administrators may be somewhat more sensitive to the need for determining the outcomes of their innovations, and, hence, more assiduous in accumulating measurable evidence of change. Hopefully, their conception and application of the design process will be more developed and rationalized than those of new careers planners.

Where business and public agencies can be found which are at least broadly comparable to human service agencies critical distinctions should be drawn between the mission and organization of the businesses and public agencies studied from those which are characteristic of human service agencies. Against this background, the methods, processes and organization of the design process employed in the private and public sector may be realistically assessed. Such assessment should in turn yield many useful recommendations for modifications and new developments in the job and career design process employed in human service agencies.

Development and Testing of New Design Methods and Models

The results of the two surveys just discussed should produce documentation of innumerable problems, gaps and other deficiencies in the occupational and career design processes now employed in new career programs. Undoubtedly, they will also yield new ideas for remedying many of these difficulties. But such ideas or research recommendations almost invariably require further development and testing before they are ready to be implemented. The same may be said for recommendations derived from operational program experience. For example, the San Francisco Civil Service Commission is reported to be in the midst of devising significant modifications in Dr. Fine's functional analysis approach.

The need for the development of new design methods and models is sufficiently apparent to require further elaboration. Nevertheless, comparatively little encouragement or support has been offered by Federal agencies for these vital functions. In some instances, curiously enough, support is offered only for the testing of fully developed ideas.* Those who feel the need for further development of their ideas must search elsewhere but the pickings are slim indeed.

On the other hand, there are few clear conceptions of just what a process of development entails. All too often in the new careers field as elsewhere ideas are regarded as developed if they appear plausible and are elegantly presented with liberal doses of fashionable phrases and concepts. In most instances ideas require for effective implementation a careful and systematic process of development in which short-term research plays an appropriate and significant role. Such research is needed not only to generate additional data, but to test assumptions, to determine the effectiveness of alternative methods, to assess the consequences of problematic aspects of the idea under development and for other purposes.

Although there appears to be a somewhat greater tendency in recent years than in the past to test or demonstrate the effectiveness of new ideas, there has been no concomitant improvement in testing methodology. It is still a rather lax process, subject to special interest and political pressures. What should be tested, how and why, are questions which are not always carefully considered. Research which should be the heart of the testing process is all too often poorly supported and poorly conceived and executed. Lastly, the interpretation of test results, such as they often are, proceeds in less than rigorous or objective fashion.

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*For example, see Title III, Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act, 1968.

Continuing inadequacies in development and testing methodologies seriously retard program development. This is nowhere more evident than in the need to develop new methods and models for designing new careers occupations and paths.

Community Resources

Introduction

"Community" is a loosely used term which in a program context usually refers to the target area of a project. In some instances the community may be the entire city, in others a county or several census tracts. Community resources refer to those agencies and/or associations which are located within the community as well as those physically located outside of a target area but serving its population.

The planner must know what agencies exist in the community and who the influential groups and persons are (including formal and informal leaders). In addition it is imperative to know where gaps in services exist, what the inter-agency relationships are, and how most advantageously to proceed to change rigid credentialling structures. All these issues are amenable to research efforts. However, structured research projects are not necessarily required in every community. Some project directors may require research while others may come forearmed with this knowledge. The tracking of influential persons and institutions may already be known to a local planner, or the community may be small enough or organized tightly enough for a few knowledgeable informants to be able to present to the planner most of the information he will need.

On the other hand, some issues, e.g., questions of change, are best approached through a national survey with results published and disseminated to local operators and planners.

Evidence presented in the interviews and the literature survey conducted in this study demonstrated that the implementation of a new careers project must involve a wide range of community agencies and facilities.

A project cannot accomplish its goals unless it meshes with the established agencies within the local area. The manner in which the project is introduced who its primary advocates are will have ramifications for the future course of the project. This section will seek to identify agencies with which the project should work.

Existing relationships between local agencies are of utmost importance to an incoming project director. So much of the success of a project of this type depends upon optimum articulation between project, user agency and educational institution. An assessment of the relationships between persons connected with various agencies in the community is important from the point of view of advancing the project by recruiting influential people to serve on boards and working committees. The development of a new careers program requires that at least three institutional needs be met by established agencies within the community. These are: an agency to provide the sponsorship of the project, a user agency to employ the paraprofessionals and an educational institution to provide the channel for certification.

In addition, there is a host of other community resources which have a very real impact upon the success or failure of the program, although they may be peripheral to actual program operations. On the one hand, their cooperation is indispensable to the establishment of opportunities for upward mobility for program participants; on the other hand, their animosity is very likely to create great obstacles to program development and may block it entirely. The groups whose acceptance or rejection of the program is a crucial factor include: professional associations, unions, civil service boards, and municipal and state governments, since most of the jobs will be in the public domain. Thus, should the cooperation of the local Civil Service Board be withheld, the people participating in the project will be denied many mobility opportunities. Of course, their cooperation and that of other groups will depend upon a number of factors. One of the most important of these is the quality of past experiences that community groups have had with the sponsoring agency.

Thus the project planner must be able to maximize the involvement of those agencies which have a stake in the success of the program.

I. Selection of Participating Agencies

Thus far, this volume has addressed issues related to the new careers concept, target populations, job analysis and demand occupations within the human service fields. If it is assumed that the planner knows the type of persons he is seeking to enroll and train and the fields in which he is going to focus his efforts, than his next question is which community resources are available to supply needed service for his prospective new careers program. This has not proved to be a simple task. Research can lighten the load considerably. Such research should include: agency canvasses to evaluate facilities and ascertain willingness to make a commitment to the project; interviews with administrative personnel to evaluate various inter-agency linkages, *e.g.*, cross-board representation, contractual arrangements, committee ties, etc., and household surveys within the target area to assess service needs contacts. Opinion surveys should also be conducted with current agency staff, to assess their attitudes toward the program and its participants.

A. Sponsor and Trainer

An important question which depends on the local situation concerns who the sponsoring agency should be and, closely related, who the training agency should be. For present purposes, only the first of these questions will be considered in this section. The other will be discussed in the training section.

Three principal questions should be asked in selecting a sponsoring agency: (1) Will the project have to use inherited staff? (2) What is the relationship between the agency and other important community resources? (3) What has been the past involvement of this agency with the target community and what do members of the target population think of the agency?

For purposes of assessing the ability of an agency to absorb the new careers project as a sponsor the question of current staff responsibilities and attitudes must be considered. If it is necessary that the project use staff currently employed by the sponsor, an organizational study of the agency should be undertaken. Questionnaires should be distributed to administrative, training, financial, and other personnel focused upon what their current jobs entail, the relative amounts of time they spend in various tasks, their opinions about whether they can increase their responsibilities to include new careers trainees. The questionnaires should also include queries related to the impressions of the staff about the new careers program. Experience has shown that if members of a staff do not think the added project worthwhile they may continue their old roles thus neglecting the new project.

One consideration that will help decide how to most effectively utilize resources is the past experiences of a potential sponsor with other agencies. Factors characterizing these local relationships must be assessed by the local planner. Because so much of the success of a new careers project depends upon the establishment of optimum communication links with user agency and educational institution unless the sponsor has the capability for establishing and maintaining such articulation, prospects for successful project program development are likely to be poor. In most communities an analysis of existing relationships does not necessitate a formal research study. Interviews with effective selection of local informants should provide a working knowledge of agency interfacing patterns.

In addition to local relationships interests should center on past successes particular types of sponsors have had throughout the country in fostering new careers or similar programs.

These and similar questions can be analyzed in a national sample and the findings should have direct implications for the new project planner.

The analysis should be performed on a sample of projects selected according to the suggested structural typologies listed below:

(1) New careers sponsorship, training and employment in one agency.

(2) A new project created to sponsor and train, but trainees are hired by user agencies.

(3) A separate sponsor who sub-contracts the training component and utilizes separate user agencies.

(4) The housing of a new careers project within a functioning parallel agency. (The term "parallel agency" will be used to apply to agencies established under specific legislation relevant to anti-poverty and/or manpower problems, e.g., C.E.P.'s and C.A.P.'s.)

(5) An established political bureau within a community housing the project.

(6) Interviews should be conducted with staff (including project and housing agency) and trainees from a variety of perspectives:

...Characteristics of the trainees such as socio-economic status, ethnicity, age, sex, residency patterns, etc., should be analyzed with a focus upon detecting whether patronage patterns of one sort or another emerge under a particular sponsorship pattern.

...The amount of disruption of regular services performed by agency.

...The extent of flexibility in assimilating non-professionals into the agency.

...The extent to which licensing and credentialling requirements are changed.

The project planner must also assess the amount of contact which the sponsoring agent has had with the target population and area. A household interview sample should be drawn from the geographic area to be serviced by the project and from which its participants are to be drawn. This survey will serve two purposes: The first, to assess the position of the sponsor and the second to assist in the selection of a user agency. Because of the applicability of this study method to the choice of user agencies it will be discussed in the following section.

B. User Agencies

The selection of a service field(s) and the position(s) for which the project will seek to prepare persons should be an outcome of job abalysis and prediction of demand occupations. However, within most communities or target areas there are usually two or more institutions involved in the delivery of a service. The planner must select that institution which is most able to place the participants in meaningful jobs leading to career advancement. More than placing people in jobs the problem is to select that institution which will give the paraprofessionals a genuine role in the functioning of the service agency and in the life of the community, particularly as concerns the poverty stratum.

The question of who the user agency(ies) should be, will be resolved in part by approaching potential user agencies to see if it will make the necessary commitment to carry a trainee through his educational process if funding ceases. Even when it is theoretically advantageous for a particular community to have new careerists working in a particular agency, if the administration of the agency will not make this commitment the agency should not be considered.

The first step in selecting a user agency involves a survey of the human service agencies within the community which propose to serve the poor. Questionnaires should be addressed to them asking information relative to their potential for hiring, supervising, and making maximum use of paraprofessionals. Background data should be sought about number and positions of staff, capacity to absorb more staff, capacity of current staff to supervise and train paraprofessionals, area served, number of years in the area, number of persons, socio-economic characteristics of clients, types of services offered and interest in offering additional services.

Once this data is gathered from agency personnel opinions about services and community problems should be gathered from community residents.

Identification of gaps in service are particularly cogent. These "gaps" refer to either needed services not currently offered by established agencies or the total lack of a service agency realistically accessible to the target population both in terms of geographical and psychological distance.

Project planners should undertake household interview surveys among poverty area residents. Visits to homes and interviews with respondents should seek to determine both the extent of awareness of the residents about the service agencies in their communities and the extent of the use of the agencies.

An index of service agencies serving the area should be presented to respondents. Data should be sought relevant to:

...amount of contact family has had with school, health, welfare and other agencies.

...whether the family voluntarily sought the help of the agency or came in contact with it through other channels.

...which member of the family is receiving service by age, sex, principal activity, etc.

...are they satisfied with services.

If the respondent knows of a service agency but no one in family uses it the reasons for lack of use should be solicited. He might state that he has heard of a particular agency in his community, such as a public health clinic, but has no idea where the clinic is located, what services it offers, whether he can be served by it, etc. Or he might know some of this information but yet be fearful of approaching the agency.

It is also of importance to the project planner if the households in the community have needs which they feel are unmet. Either these feelings may result because the family believes that they cannot afford such services or the family members do not know where to receive such services. Some of these unmet needs may be in the areas of tutorial assistance, recreation, family planning, health, mental health, etc. Whether or not these perceptions of gaps are accurate must be checked with the agencies in question.

A portrait of agency contacts and affiliated problems will result from analysis of the responses. These findings will not only have implications for the community agencies which should be approached to serve as user agencies but also for best sponsorship selection. New services performed by aides or non-professional human service workers may be instituted in a new agency or attached to an established one.

On the basis of a household survey of this type one can make objective judgments regarding the accessibility of the services and directions for change and whether completely new services are needed or whether additional manpower employed by existing agencies will more quickly and economically serve the community.

The findings should be analyzed by demographic characteristics, residency patterns and past employment and educational histories of the respondents. An analysis of this kind will seek to determine if a lack of particular services are due to organizational factors (e.g., insufficient staff), to the need for totally new and additional services or to inefficient patterns of service delivery which omit some groups from receiving the needed services.

This information might be useful to the agencies surveyed as well as to the project planner. In fact, findings which point out that the institution is not reaching the people of the community may help to convince an agency to undertake a commitment to a new careers project.

C. Educational Institution

The section on community colleges contained in Volume III provides research undertakings relating to this program component. In addition, the program planner in discussing inter-agency relations should seek the reactions of both sponsoring and user agency about any past working relations which they have had with the educational establishment.

II. Other Community Resources

For purposes of program planning the initial canvasses of voluntary and public social service agencies cannot be limited to those which will be directly participating through contract arrangements in the project. The following section will deal briefly with several other potentially important community resources.

The fact that unemployability is one major target of the new careers project means that sooner or later within the life of the project the mobile worker must come in contact with the credentialling and licensing systems existent in this community. The project planner must have knowledge of the systems involved, professional accreditation requirements, academic degree requirements, union membership requirements, civil service codes, etc. In addition, he must know at which point his target population is most likely to fall short of meeting these various standards, which of these standards are "unrealistic" and should be changed, and which are functionally sound, and who are the influential persons and organizations upholding these licensing and credentialling procedures.

A. Civil Service Commissions

> If the non-professional movement is to grow, if the opportunity structure is to be opened up so that jobs can become careers and aides can rise to become ultimately professionals, major institutional changes will have to be considered. Civil Service requirements will have to be altered....(*)

The first priority in any given community is the collection of civil service regulations and examinations pertaining to the fields for which persons are to be trained. However, gathering such information should be undertaken in conjunction with braoder research endeavors which have potential use for many communities.

A comparison of civil service regulations and examinations should be undertaken in a field by field analysis across the states. Of particular interest would be those states which have substituted oral for written exams and those positions which have wide gaps between the steps. The local project designer should be cognizant of modifications initiated elsewhere to provide ideas for change in his community and as leverage to convince local authorities. Research should also be applied to testing the efficiency of non-written tests in selecting workers. The project director also should be knowledgeable about projects which have succeeded or failed in creating changes in these systems to enable workers to enter and move up in what had been closed fields. He must also familiarize himself with the formal and informal leadership systems in the local community in order to seek alliance with those persons who may support plans for change.

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*Frank Riessman, "New Careers," A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, undated, p. 17.

B. Other Agencies

Change strategies must take account of idiosyncratic conditions existing within each community. However, there are at least two research endeavors which should take place on a national scale and be prepared for use by local planners. A review of available evaluation reports should select projects in which there had been a deficiency of mobility opportunity due to blocks in gaining accessibility to licensing or credentialling opportunities. Structured interviews should be conducted both with the project personnel and with personnel in the credentialling associations. Questions should be directed to the steps they undertook to change the standards, alternate suggestions they made, whether they succeeded or failed. If the latter, whether they intend to reopen the issue, and the extent to which they think there is possibility of change.

Confidence in the knowldege of how to go about producing these changes will be enhanced by a systematic comparison of the perspectives of the project personnel and staff of the association regarding the strategies and the steps employed to achieve change. In addition, information should be sought regarding the rationale behind the position the association is taking and whether they feel that there is any room for flexibility in their position. The association's spokesman should also be probed about the ways he feels the project should have handled the situation differently.

The research undertaking will serve to devise models by which to construct strategy guidelines in changing restrictive regulations.

Research can also play an important role in representing the "change process" as it is now being undertaken. A thoroughly documented account of change maneuvers and the various reactions solicited in different settings - in labor unions, professional associations, state licensing boards, etc. - will have implications for the local project planner.

C. Organizations of Workers

The professional organizations are important to the life of a new careers project because they control many certification procedures, (National Association of Social Workers) or because the position they formally adopt toward the introduction of paraprofessionals will strongly influence the receptivity potential of their members (United Federation of Teachers). The professional groups are not the only groups of workers that a project planner must deal with. Unions of non-professionals are also likely to be important to the functioning of the project, especially if new careerists rapidly acquire membership.

That there are at present paraprofessionals working with human service fields must be taken into consideration by the project planners in at least two respects. The first involves whether to consider them as part of the project's target population and recruit them for the program. The second concerns the necessity for gaining the cooperation of these groups because the non-professionals who are bypassed by recent recruits represent a potential impediment to successful program operations. However, if these paraprofessional workers are formed into unions or other types of action groups their active support can be extremely valuable. These workers must accept the new careerist if the project is to take root.

> In some cases, non-professionals have been glamorized as the leaders of the anti-poverty war; in other cases they have been seen as competitive threats to professionals, and cleavages between professionals and non-professionals will mirror the hospital model where non-professionals have been employed for many years with no possibility of upgrading or career development. (*)

The project planner should inventory the unions in the field for which he is training, and meet with the leaders of these unions or less formally organized non-professional groups to ascertain their opinions and conceptions of the project.

From these meetings he will arrive at strategies for approaching various fields among which may be their inclusion in recruitment efforts. (But this will be discussed in another volume.)

(*) Frank Riessman, "New Careers," A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund undated, p. 17.

Another possible interest group which may be present is the New Careerist movement, which has arisen since the introduction of new careers programs in a few major cities where such projects exist. The trend has been for new careerists to form into a national association following a political action model as is taking place in New York, San Francisco and Washington, D.C. This movement is new and most communities will not have to deal with it as an important community resource for a while if at all.

III. Introducing The Project

In introducing the new careers program to a community the planner must decide between a "saturation policy" or a piecemeal approach which seeks to introduce the program institution by institution. Briefly, the "saturation" concept, advocated by many respondents interviewed in this study, adds paraprofessional staff to all or many human service institutions at about the same time within a limited geographic area. The geographic area may be an entire city but for demonstration purposes an urban renewal area or a Model Cities area would be a more workable location. A demonstration project of this sort would seek data on whether this total community approach: 1) allows for greater mobility on the part of the trainees, both lateral and vertical mobility, 2) creates greater willingness by other user agencies to open entry positions to paraprofessionals, 3) incites greater impetus for and finally more actually visible institutional change within the user agencies, and 4) effects changes in credentialling, licensing and civil service system entry regulations and test requirements for entry level positions.

IV. Combinations Agencies

Although new careers projects are comparatively recent innovations, this study has found communities within the country in which local resources and institutions have been optimally utilized to facilitate the institutionalization of the program. Community colleges have changed entrance requirements and added new services and courses; oral tests have been substituted for written tests in order to gain Civil Service status and community associations which have never worked together before have united in an effort to make the program viable. An example of such a cooperative venture is the Nurses' Aide to LPN Upgrading Program. This program is operating in New York City under the sponsorship of District Council 37, AFSCME, AFL-CIO and the New York City Health Services Administration, Department of Hospitals. Unfortunately, knowledge of innovative uses of community resources are not disseminated so that other projects may make similar studies. Therefore, as an aid to the local planner, information relevant to innovative use of local resources should be gathered and disseminated.

Mailed questionnaires should be sent to projects throughout the country and to relevant community resources within their locales, i.e., public school, hospital and welfare administrations, unions, professional associations, public interest groups, etc. The questionnaires should seek to measure the extent of the cross-involvement between project and outside agencies, how the involvement was initiated, the motivations toward the involvement, the opinions of the parties involved towards the results achieved to date. Suggestions should be sought from the agencies about other beneficial contacts within the community that are not yet participating. If the agency is not involved the reason should be sought.

In addition to analyzing this information, a workshop of educators, project directors, and others involved in such projects should be organized so that experiences can be shared and disseminated. Information concerning the dynamics of community involvement should enhance efficient use of community resources by the project planner. The workshop approach should also seek ideas for new combinations of resources and increase a sense of commitment to the new careers philosophy among the participants.

Planners who attempt a new amalgamation involving public and private sector organizations should set up their training and development projects with research components to measure the effectiveness of the cooperation.

In conjunction with this, investigations should be undertaken by the local planner to discover possible melding patterns of funds provided under different types of Federal and State legislation.

In summation, this chapter has dealt with research suggestions to assist the project planner to acquire full knowledge of the resources in his community in order to:

...organize a unified effort to institutionalize the program
...know where needed services should be placed, and
...change credentialling requirements.

Research Priorities

A large number of research needs, studies and areas of investigation have been discussed in this volume. Not all are of equal importance or immediacy, though each has been justified in relation to its contribution to the advancement of new careers programs. However, judgments of research priorities follow no clear or objective rules, nor do they possess any great stability in the face of rapidly changing fashions in program concepts. Still, they are useful guides to decision-making and to action.

In their present stage of development, the most immediate needs of new careers programs involve the development and testing of effective methods for designing paraprofessional occupations and careers and for introducing them into human service agencies. Respondents in this study tended to stress this need. It is at once central to their programmatic efforts and it involves a high order of specialized knowledge and skill for which most have had neither training nor experience. Further, it constitutes a manageable area of programmatic concern in which well directed research and development efforts can have an immediate impact. For these reasons it is recommended as an area of top priority.

Only a little less urgent are the research studies associated with the identification, assessment and use of community resources. This is a perpetual problem area which has afflicted many social programs, often with disastrous consequences. Nevertheless, solutions are not closer at hand today than in the past. They continue to weigh heavily on new careers program planners and operators whose programmatic reliance upon other community resources and agencies is often critically important.

On the whole, those interviewed in this study were not inclined to stress problems and issues related to the target population. There were some exceptions, of course, which centered primarily on the tendency of males to avoid participation in the program. Generally, respondents seemed satisfied with their knowledge of their target populations, and, perhaps were even more satisfied that they would have little difficulty finding qualified recruits for their comparatively small programs. It is apparent, therefore, that for many practitioners research in target populations is not regarded as an immediate or high priority item. In long range terms, however, improvement in the ability to diagnose the needs and potentials of target area residents takes on much greater importance. The hall mark of increasingly sophisticated programs in their capability on the one hand for making judgments of greater refinement and validity regarding the needs of their clients, and, on the other hand, for developing appropriately diversified and refined means for treating or serving clients on an increasingly individual basis. Thus, it is suggested that at least modest support for research on target and client populations is essential for long-range program improvement goals.

VOLUME II

The Design and Operation of New Careers Programs

Prepared by: The Center for Social Policy
and Program Development
Graduate School of Social Work
New York University

Introduction

The first volume of this document dealt with all considerations necessary for the launching of a New Careers program. The studies and research undertakings in that volume were designed to be utilized by planners of programs, both on a national and local level, to determine the particular directions of their program. The volume attempted to offer a research guide which would address itself to such questions as: will a New Careers program meet the needs of this community or should another manpower program be launched?

On this background, it examined the types of populations which might be addressed by the project, and the types of occupations and career ladders upon which the project might focus.

The final section of the first volume dealt with the problematic issues involved in relationships between the project and relevant community institutions and resources and the manner in whcih the program should be introduced into a community.

More relevant to the concerns of the local operator of a new-career type program are those topics discussed in the second volume: Designing and Operating the New Careers Program. Of the topic document, this is the Volume which deals most specifically with ongoing operationsl problems of New Careers. It is in this volume that most of the problems presented by the interview respondents are dealt with if they are deemed subject to research amelioration or clarification.

Identification of specific and discrete research undertakings in this volume proved difficult. Most often, projects offered in this volume may overlap with projects offered in other volumes.

But, understanding this overlapping, it was decided to reiterate some segments of studies herein so that the volume might stand on its own.

The local project operators may make use of Volume II, therefore, without necessarily reviewing the entire New Careers Research Guide. On the other hand, persons on a national or regional level may wish to emphasize projects contained in this volume while at the same time undertaking studies geared to more basic design-planning problems.

This volume begins with a discussion of recruitment and selection problems, issues and research suggestions. This section of the guide will be of most value if the studies recommended herein are blended with those in the Target Population Chapter of Volume I. However, the majority of them lend themselves to particular community level undertakings.

Research Recommendations

Program operators tended to be more concerned with problems of selection than of recruitment, since generally the numbers of recruitees involved in these projects are small. Thus, while studies are suggested dealing with recruitment issues, the major portion of this chapter is devoted to the selection process. Recruitment queries are usually related to methods of recruiting specific populations, e.g. young men.

Only after a thorough understanding of the qualities desirable for a particular paraprofessional position can we devise methods to select persons with these qualities. Thus, the chapter deals with studies designed to isolate and define in terms of performance variables the skill, knowledge and personality qualifications most applicable to the opened slots.

But once this knowledge is at hand, the most effective way of selection presents a problem. The chapter deals with research undertakings which will assist the program operator in choosing among the various selection techniques used in new careers-type programs, in designing and implementing new selection models, and in deciding the persons who are best at making selection judgements.

Research Recommendations in Training

The training chapter is devoted primarily to research designs which will enable the operator to evaluate methods. Major focus is given to controlled experiments in which methods, techniques, atmosphere, etc. of training is varied. The use of rigid control designs in such manner may eliminate much of the ambiguity currently surrounding ways of training low-income populations.

These experiments should be given top priority in new careers and other manpower programs, especially because there is so much material published on the subject currently with such scanty emperical bases.

Such experiments will deal with crucial training issues, some of which follow:

(a) the relative effectiveness of core versus generic training;

(b) specific areas which are better taught using in-class methods or on-the-job training methods;

(c) comparison of results when trainees are placed in homogeneous versus heterogeneous classes in relation to: age, sex, use of English, academic background, academic achievement, type of human service field, etc.

Lastly, the chapter deals with two areas of research and development placed in a slightly lower psoition in priority than the experiments. The first is a perusal of the types of materials which need to be developed or improved upon for training paraprofessionals.

Several needed types of materials are suggested. Of top priority are remedial materials for adults, both English and Spanish-speaking. A second, but somewhat differently focused priority are training manuals for trainers of paraprofessionals.

Problems specific to training new careers programs is the third order of discussion. Crucial to these are training transferability and classroom/field mix.

Education

The third chapter of this volume has been moved to Volume IV.

Since it is a problem of program operation and design, following the process design of this Research Guide it should be included in this Volume and thus is mentioned in the Contents. However, an equally important consideration in organizing this report is the audience for which each volume is written.

Participants in funding and monitoring studies geared to the educational components of new careers programs are likely to be colleges, universities or the Office of Education. The dominant reason for adding a fourth volume is so that these groups may receive a Research Guide addressed to them. The chapter which encircles the second volume is Supportive Services and Project Organization. Most of the studies recommended in this chapter are principally management oriented. They deal with the structure and procedures of projects and the relative efficiency of various institutional complexes. Of paramount importance among these studies are those utilizing techniques of cost-benefit analysis.

Recruitment and Selection

In planning and organizing new careers projects, the first question to be resolved after assessing the needs of the community in terms of manpower shortages and social service gaps and devising job prototypes to fill these, is which members of the target population should be recruited for the newly available positions.

As seen explicitly in the organization of this report, research on recruitment is inherently connected to research on selection. Although it is possible for pedantic purposes to separate all the issues, improved results will be achieved by carefully planning studies which not only deal with those to be recruited but also the manner of selection. Meaningful research designs in these two areas will combine a systematic culling of successful job requirements for human service work with small experimental projects. Studies solely on recruitment methods may also be non-practical for new careers projects because the number of trainee slots are ordinarily kept so low as consequently not to require much effort to get the appropriate number of applicants to fill them.

The questions addressed in recruitment of new careerists usually center upon the following issues:

1. Should recruitment efforts aim at the unemployed, or underemployed persons already in the fields;
2. Should recruitment drives emphasize the social utility of the new positions or the upward mobility opportunities for the participants;

3. Should a project recruit from the target population persons who would most profit from the experience, or those who would best fulfill the demands of the project positions for which they are to be trained?
4. What are the most efficient means for recruiting a particular segment of the target population?

Designation of Qualifications and Requirements

As a broad overall goal, a first step should be the determination of requisites for a given job based upon the qualities, skills and knowledge attained by persons who have successfully performed in a particular or similar job design. Once this is determined, one can proceed to design the most efficient manner in which to select those persons who possess these attributes.

If there is available current experience with these job positions the problem is simplified and efforts must relate to cataloguing, analysis and dissemination. If not, the research problem becomes considerably more complex.

Unfortunately, in our survey of local program operators there seemed to be a lack of real material about the persons who become "successful Human Service Workers." Central to the gap in knowledge is a basic conceptual issue: What is a successful human service worker? The issue of recruitment and selection for new careers positions must start at this juncture. Research in this issue is particularly necessary since new careers projects are active in changing performance concepts.

Interviews plus literature surveys have led to the conclusion that the field of elementary education is the most advanced in defining success in terms of individual performance.

However, while in education various measurement devices are being tested to determine the qualities of a successful teacher, in the fields of social work, health, etc. there is still no attempt to define qualities and skills needed. In education, there has been most success in terms of rating scales, both self-perceptive and pupil perspectives. These same devices may be designed for other fields.

It is recommended that a group of knowledgeable practitioners in a given field be brought together. These persons in a series of brainstorming sessions, could construct a ranked listing of those attributes needed to perform successfully in a given field. Once this is defined the type of person to be recruited would be the composite profile.

An alternate technique for systematizing job requisites is to compare persons employed in similar projects who have advanced with persons who have remained at entry level. A first step is to interview supervisory and administrative staff about the factors they felt were the real determinants in selecting those persons who have started on the ladder toward upward mobility. In our judgment, this will yield statements of a subjective nature with little attempt at determination of any operational means for actually measuring differences in possessions of the qualities indicated. Most program interviewers stress that they look for qualities such as maturity, social commitment, etc. Each of these are subject to the subjective judgments of the intake workers as to what manifests maturity. This problem is further complicated when the selector comes from a different social background than the applicant. Applicants and interviewers may have different views on definitions of personal qualities.

Rather than only interviewing administrative personnel, the researcher should speak to the project participants in an effort to reconcile the views of the two types of informants.

In the interviews with the paraprofessionals it is suggested that stress be placed upon ways they feel that they handled various situations to demonstrate "maturity, etc. Such a gathering of specific on-the-job examples can then be converted either to interview questions or test items to provide a clearer indicator of a person's human service skills than is currently employed. A further manner in which such a study could contribute to knowledge of New Careers would be the objectification of promotion criteria, in situations where stress is to be placed on qualities rather than functional skills.

Recruitment Efforts

Efforts should be made to assess the recruitment channels and activities utilized by manpower projects in local areas. By assessing applications on file in other agencies of the community, the local planner may determine whether or not there is a necessity of launching an independent recruitment effort. Analysis of open files at the State Employment Service, CAAs, CEPs, OICs, etc. will also yield data on the characteristics of the target populations seeking entry into job training programs.

The planner would profit from information identifying the extent to which these agencies had adequately tapped the reserve manpower of the target population and whether the persons on file could meet the requisites of the new careers positions. A beneficial by-product of research would be a standardized application form for all manpower training projects within a geographic locale leading to expedient referral systems.

If it is demonstrated that the various agencies have qualitatively different types of applicants on file, an analysis of the various recruitment efforts yielding the various types of personnel would assist the planner in designing his own recruitment drive. Research could play a fruitful role in assessing the extent and nature of the differences in applicants responding to new careers recruitment as contrasted to those who had applied at the recruitment sources.

Studies should be designed to determine the innovative recruitment procedures which may be required to attract the interest of various desired populations, particularly those who have not been applying to new careers projects. New channels to specific populations may also need to be forged.

Before closing this discussion on recruitment procedures one research concept should be mentioned as possessing value in explorations of recruitment procedures.

The technique of computer simulation may prove especially fruitful in selecting the most effective method of reaching a desired population, particularly armed with much of the data called for in the studies recommended in this chapter.

The application of various techniques, i.e. leaflets, newspapers notices, public meetings, door-to-door campaigns, etc. can be simulated upon various populations.

This method may yield data to aid selection of a recruitment method which will be most effective as well as most economical. The simulation, should be undertaken at the national level but results distributed for action on a local basis.

The local program operator may in turn request the addition of new designs to the simulation to meet local idiosyncratic conditions.

Recruiting and Selecting Specific Target Pupulations

The legislative guidelines for new careers projects are extremely flexible about the persons to be recruited and selected. Unlike many other manpower training programs, selection is not exclusively limited to the unemployed or disadvantaged. Thus, participants in new careers projects may be persons from diverse experiential backgrounds, income, education and ages. Demand for the type of supportive services, training and career opportunities opened in these projects and the inability of the projects to accept all applicants led to three often mentioned problematic areas.

Interview data, particularly from program operators cited the areas of:

(a) lack of opportunity for those already employed by the human service agencies, particularly underemployed paraprofessionals and non-professional and clerical personnel;

(b) elegibility for enrollment of persons from the "unemployed middle-class" and

(c) "creaming" or arbitrary selective enrollment due to the pressures toward occupational advancement.

A. Non-professional personnel

This is a particular problem in the field of health services where there are considerable numbers of individuals working in positions which do not feed into a professionally oriented career ladder or whose mobility opportunities are limited, e.g. nurses aides. The lack of available populations may dictate using only one field of service, i.e. hospital care, as a target to assess differential program impact in those cases where new persons were recruited, and those incorporating old line personnel into new careers positions.

The problem raised during our interviews centered around two issues in the dispute of unemployed versus underemployed--differential competencies and resistences on the job. Both these problems can be explored through longitudinal studies of the progress of new careers recruits in their mobility both occupationally and educationally.

The first issue can be addressed through a brief questionnaire dealing with population characteristics and percentages receiving promotions, raises, degrees, etc. Included should be questions enabling an analysis of the differences in the demographic characteristic motivations and interests of project enrollers and employed nonprofessionals.

In addressing the issue of resistances a sample of projects recruiting from one or the other of the two groups for similar positions should be closely examined. Programs which utilize new careerists in totally new positions should be selected as a sample for a parallel study.

This issue, is harder to grapple with and required on-site interviews of supervisors, union leaders, etc. who are in a position to analyze relative ease and difficulty in promotional opportunities.

While residences may be great in areas where career ladders are credited through a redistribution of tasks, they may not be as great a factor in those fields in which paraprofessionals are working in completely new types of roles within traditional settings. Although this hypothesis remains to be proven initial impressions point to the evidence that paraprofessionals within the field of education are being perceived as of little threat to accredited teachers if they are employed in outreach positions while their working as teacher sides or assistants meets with greater hostility. The implications which differential resistances have for recruitment and selection procedures must be explored if one is to understand how to effectively implement career ladders in various occupations.

B. Unemployed Middle-Class

The largest group of persons applying to new careers projects from this population are middle-aged housewives who have dropped out of the labor market while raising young children, and now when their children are grown are seeking re-entry. A second group is the retired elderly.

Though not trained necessarily for specific human service occupations, the majority of these persons are better educated and come from backgrounds where they have encountered a greater variety of academically oriented stimuli than have the disadvantaged.

A central research question relating to this population is the need to design recruitment and especially selection procedures which will relate equally to this group and to the disadvantaged applicants.

C. Creaming

This area is particularly pertinent to the new careers programs because of the emphasis to select those persons who, through work and educational experience, will advance career-wise. Although persons spoke of "creaming" and there emerged a general consensus that it was a factor in new careers selection, when project operators were questioned directly the types of persons "creamed" could not be easily categorized. Examples of important qualifications were persons with academic skills above the average existing in poverty areas; persons who evidenced career motivation; persons who had participated in or completed other manpower-training programs; and persons with apparent interest in changing service delivery systems and who had backgrounds of social action activity.

As a first priority in tackling the questions of "creaming" empirical data should be amassed to determine if, in fact, it does exist. This question must also include a relative aspect to determine if whatever "creaming" is present in new careers programs differs in proportion to that existing in the many other federally-financed manpower programs. Viewed from this perspective, the issue then becomes do persons who may be "creamed" for new careers programs differ from those selected for other programs.

As to the programmatic decisions to be made once the data is gathered and analyzed, this must revolve around considerations other than research findings.

Research geared toward specific selection techniques and problems which may result in "creaming" will be dealt with in the following section.

The topic of selection of specific populations for new careers programs would be incomplete without suggestion of a study geared to ways of reaching a population which has not as yet been sufficiently recruited.

These projects, by and large, have been unsuccessful in efforts to recruit significant numbers of males. Most available demographic surveys of participants in new careers projects document that an extremely large proportion of adult women are enrolled despite the fact that in certain fields operators state that they are making efforts to recruit men in this study. Respondents were asked their opinions as to why men did not apply. Many maintained that central to this problem seems to be the commonly accepted notion that human service occupations are "female employment." Primarily in fields such as elementary education, where it has recently been shown that males in a classroom are beneficial, is this "feminine" image held to be a factor. The problem of recruiting males deals with breaking down this stereotype, as well as exploring other reasons why men are not applying.

The first step in this study is to verify the hypothesis stated above or to uncover the other reasons men are not applying to these programs, e.g. low salaries, disinterest in education, unfamiliarity, etc. This should be done through surveys of unemployed males living in target areas of these programs. One would devise a questionnaire seeking to determine what their impressions of human service occupations actually are.

Interviews devised to explore this particular research question may well be combined with other community surveys which have been suggested in this chapter. In fact, a randomly selected household sample geared to assessing general attitudes toward the project would yield this data. Special effort, of course, should be made to interview all adults in the household rather than only heads of households. This will enable the responses of males and females to be compared to determine if there exists different reasons for a reluctance to enroll among men and women not enrolled.

While the possibility exists that the results of such a study will yield data stating that there are objective factors retarding recruitment among men over which the project operator has no control, i.e. salaries, hours, etc. there also exists a chance that misinformation or spurious thinking may be a causal factor.

Selection Procedures

New Careers projects have employed selection procedures which ranged from first-come, first-served approaches to complicated psychological tests and group discussions involving a panel of selectors hidden behind one-way mirrors.

The variety of selection techniques points to the need for continued studies.

In treating this issue there are a variety of methodological approaches which may be used. One method for refining what exactly were the qualities selected by various procedures would be a survey of a) the enrollee populations of randomly selected samples of new careers programs; b) the enrollee populations of non-new careers manpower programs and c) program applicants from both groups who were not accepted.

Included among the variables to be explored, in addition to basic population data, should be health conditions, years of educational attainment, and performance levels as measured by standardized public school tests. If funding permits, it would also be beneficial to conduct interviews and tests of samples of the four populations to determine differences in general interests, motivations and social action concern.

In view of funding shortages, an alternative method of comparing the success of various selection techniques is retrospective analysis. Through this method one can identify after the fact, those selection methods which had the most success in enrolling traineees who turned out to be highly motivated and effective workers. Here, the given is the selection method and criteria used.

In the retroactive analysis it is possible to include a sample of "drop-outs" in order to attempt to assess whether the inability of certain programs to hold certain types of persons correlates with inappropriate selection requirements.

A third method by which to obtain a specific understanding of where recruitment and selection problems exist is to do a cross-area survey. Within the general range of fields in which new careers programs are working, different aspects of the problem may exist. Although this type of survey will not be launched particularly with respect to selection problems, it is suggested that the following types of questions and others related to selection be asked of program operators for inclusion in quarterly reports to the national level:

...demographic characteristics of target population
...number of applicants;
   demographic characteristics. past work history, educational
   attainment, interests
...numbers of applicants accepted; reasons for acceptance
...description of selection methods used

The quality of the selection should emerge from those responses. The responses should be analyzed and compared on a field of service variables.

The knowledge of types of persons applying and selected for various fields will clarify if certain fields attract certain types of people. On the basis of this data, research must seek to determine the source of attraction or lack of attraction of certain groups for the field and the type of recruitment efforts needed to counter this trend.

Lastly, the imbalance may be a direct result of recruitment efforts. In all cases where the characteristics of program participants significantly differ from that of the target population the sources and methods of recruitment and selection must be examined.

Selection Problems Relating to Multi-Agency Involvement

The recruitment and selection questions surrounding new careers programs must also focus upon the need to create criteria acceptable to the project, the educational institution and the user agency. There are two related issues which are basic to this topic, and which the "state of the arts" has not succeeded in making translatable from one milieu to the other. One is the relationship between present attainment and future motivation.

One means of approaching this problem is through a series of conferences between the various inter-related agencies so that all will at least decide on a minimum set of acceptance criteria. Instances have emerged in new careers projects in which a group of applicants pass the general admissions criteria for the project, yet fail to gain acceptance to the affiliated educational institution, and/or advancement in the user agency.

There are basically two areas where the issue of whether or not academic attainment is indicative of success in ones employment emerge.

The first is between the new careers project and the user agency. Whereas much of the literature and mystique surrounding the new careers concept de-emphasizes the requisite that any academic attainment should be required many of the fields the paraprofessionals enter demand a certain amount of competency in reading and writing. Even if this is not the case, mobility in many instances means at some point the person must pass a competitive examination.

The second is between the project and the enrollees. Exploration through brief questionnaires of the views of paraprofessionals regarding needed basic skills would shed some light on this issue. In the course of our interviews it became clear that in this area operators and paraprofessionals differed.

The philosophy of new careers, based upon social change theory and job analysis techniques often views the performance of a specific task as requiring minimal academic skills. This, in fact, might be the case. On the other hand, the self-perception of the paraprofessional himself may and often does demand much more. According to the results of these interviews program operations may have a more relaistic assessment of the skills needed in daily performing of a job as well as the impressions of the paraprofessionals regarding their lacks or abilities in these skills and whether they see it as affecting upward mobility or wages. With this information the project might wish to amend some selection requirements or institute pre-enrollment training courses.

Summary and Priorities

Most important on a national level are those recommended studies on the methods and techniques currently being used for recruitment and selection of new careers enrollees and the characteristics of those applying and those selected.

Studies of employment and training interests among contrasting groups (*e.g.* youth versus adult, male versus female, unemployed versus underemployed) would appear to have particular value in determining differential patterns of response to the program, and consequences in terms of over-application or lack of application.

Unfortunately, the results of these studies will not answer some of the more difficult questions relating to recruitment and selection. There is a host of other questions, assuming priority in the minds of the local operator, concerning the factors which enhance or hinder recruitment and selection practices. Among a number of such concerns mentioned in this chapter which appear of paramount importance are: 1) what are the subjective qualities sought by the project intake personnel and how can they be objectified; 2) this leads to the need for development of a clear and unbiased listing of job qualifications regarding knowledges, skills and personality characteristics; and 3) the design of instruments.

Training

It was demonstrated repeatedly during the course of our interviews that the training portion of the New Careers project may be the central issue that can lead to a successful project or a failure. Many concerns were mentioned relating to training. Among those most frequently and urgently cited, and which lend themselves to research resolution were

: type of curriculum approach to training, specifically core vs. specialization.

: what is the optimum relationship between classroom training and on-the-job training - how can these two aspects be coordinated.

: who should the recipients of the training be: only trainees; supervisors; old-line paraprofessionals; combinations of all these.

: what should emphasis of training be in relationship to New Careers goals.

Program operators also tended to be involved in the search for innovative teaching methods and materials for the disadvantaged adult trainee, in relation to remediation work and also to job content, skill training and communications. The population of New Careers trainees also present special training needs such as English as a second language. Although this is more emphatic a problem in the East and West coasts, since the largest New Careers projects are also located in these areas it is recommended that special research attention be paid to this group. The length of training, sponsorship of training, type of instructors and other issues generic to all manpower training programs are also present in New Careers.

Where many manpower programs have single training tasks and goals New Careers has at least two basic training tasks and in many instances well over that number of phases. To list the Training components taught by some New Careers projects: Remediation for High School Equivalency, Basic English for those persons who speak English as a second language, Orientation to basic work habits and attitudes, Communications training, training in core human service directed work, training in specific entry job requirements, on-the-job training, training to pass entry Civil Service Regulations. Whereas there are issues, questions and problems relating to each of these components, emphasis in this chapter will be on those components specifically central to the New Careers concept or over-all concerns which pertain to the total training experience.

Thus, we will start at the training of human service occupations followed by exploration of problems of specific job training, on-the-job training, the intermix and juxtaposition of the two components and end with remediation and other more generic training issues. New Careers has expanded upon the concept of core curriculum development in its training for human service occupations. This concept seeks the commonalities among the various human service fields and approaches the training from the point of view of these commonalities. Core curriculum approaches differ from training geared toward a specific occupational line in its appraoch and in its end result since it presupposes that after the orientation training the trainee will then be in a position to select the particular human service field he wishes to enter.

To rate the job preparation provided by the two curriculum approaches an experimental design would be most advantageous. Matched groups should be randomly selected and exposed to the two types of curriculum and then placed in the same agencies. If all other training components were similar any difference observed in the performance while on the job or in their occupational futures may be attributable to the exposure to core versus specific curricula.

This procedure may supply data not only about total performance in relationship to entire curriculum perspective but also which particular aspects of job performance may be more effected by the kinds of human service orientation offered by the New Careers project. Ratings in particular aspects if analyzed against curricular approaches may provide this data while analysis of effects of curricula by student characteristics will also be insightful.

These questions will help establish types of training for different persons and the relationship between an individual's goals and the curriculum approach that would be most helpful to that person. Experimentation along these lines need not be completely limited to total core or total specific curricula.

Not only should controlled experiments be devised to evaluate curriculum approaches but it is a method by which to judge the relative merits of other aspects of training which have been problematic for program operators and trainees. Only by controlling personality and job variables and systematically modifying training conditions can optimum patterns be arrived at. The basic design may be applied to various issues and the impact items to be tested to measure effect will be essentially the same. But unless the independent variables are clearly defined and isolated, the factor which is supposed to be evaluated will not be assessed.

One of the problems in the training for career advancement integral to New Careers problems is the training that is necessary for the persons who will be working with the entering paraprofessionals - as co-workers or supervisors. Indeed, all trainers surveyed agreed that an objective of the New Careers project was job performance of the paraprofessional within a cohesive working unit and that must necessitate the training of professionals who are employed by the user agency as well as training with the paraprofessionals. The problem for the trainer is whether the training of professionals is best accomplished in isolation, in joint training with the paraprofessionals, or in a mixture where both groups are trained independently but meet at regular intervals for joint sessions. By experimenting with these different approaches to professional training several items should be studied.

It is desirable for objective evaluators to be present within the training sessions to assess impact of different methods upon the training experience itself as well as the results of the training upon the work performance of the professional and the interaction between them. Ideally, research of the training component should be designed not only to increase the final impact of training, but to improve the on-going process through a continual feed-back system, as long as the input from the research process does not change or alter the independent variable of the original experimental design and all groups are exposed to similar phenomenon. The question of professional preparation leads directly into the issue of the relevance of the training to the on-the-job work experience and vice-versa.

For improving the remediation position of New Careers training programs it would be extremely desirable to study the curriculum and techniques employed in other training situations for disadvantaged youth and/or adults. A list of institutions should be surveyed including other training programs, schools of continuing education, vocational education institutes, adult basic education courses, etc. Included in the survey should be materials used; such as texts, audio-visual materials, etc., and tests of achievement and comparable results.

The point of contact between training off and on the job is an area which calls for priority consideration, in a systematic research program. The entire concept of New Careers in which employment processes form a real situation rather than the reverse pattern which is the more prevalent situation rests upon the juxtaposition of training and work as a single integrated learning experience leading to adequate job performance toward career advancement.

One can think of several aspects of the project training and on-the-job training which may or may not correspond in the actual situation: goals----are the goals presented by the government funded project the same as these of the supervisor in the user agency; personnel----do the two types of trainers approach the situation similarly, are their training efforts coordinated, are they mutually supportive, do they contradict each other; scope and content of training----do the specific areas of Training weigh up in content, what are the areas covered by each, are the same attitudes and work behavior items stressed; training methods----are trainers permitted to participate in the same manner in each type of Training, are questions respected similarly, are authoritaries, democratic, or lease fair leadership patterns followed: evaluation----are the criteria whereby trainers are evaluated mutually reinforcing, are trainers acquainted with their evaluations in both instances, do trainers consult in evaluating individual students?

Job performance and successful career advancement is very dependent on the correspondence between these two training components. The above listed areas give some idea of the various ways in which what is expounded in one area may help or confuse.

Studies of the training correspondence are essential.

In summary these research tasks should be undertaken in respect to training mixes which can be combined into a single long-term study:

a) Survey of what the current training picture presents in terms of the above questions including observations of training processes both in-project training and on-the-job training;

b) Evaluations of the two training components and opinions by the clients and the trainers about possible enforcing or contradicting aspects or trends.

c) Experimentation and demonstration of techniques instituted to enable the two components to more closely parallel each other.

The design for systematic research and experimentation should emanate at the point at which the first two steps are analyzed to assess the particular aspect(s) of the training components that are most subject to flaws in coordination. Among the changes which might enhance the interface between the components would be: joint training of project trainers and user agency supervisors, standardized texts or manuals which would cover both aspects, utilization of examples emanating from on-the-job training experiences about the kinds of behavior and attitudes stressed, etc.

This chapter dealt mainly with the training needs of paraprofessionals engaged in upgrading programs as a totality but the point should be stressed that the training needs of particular sub-groups of trainees should be studied. A survey of the training needs of older workers, Puerto Ricans and youth as examples of these special groups who are involved in New Careers type programs should be conducted not only of representatives of these populations currently enrolled in training projects but also of members of these groups currently employed in paraprofessional positions in human services who are not enrolled in a program of career advancement to seek to understand what their training needs and interests are and a sample of these sub-groups which are potential targets for career advancement training, i.e., underemployed, unemployed and, among youth, those enrolled in secondary schools who are identified as potential dropouts or those who will graduate without interest in continuing education or do not have a readily marketable skill.

However, a survey of the potential trainees themselves will not fully answer the question of their training needs as the receptivity of the labor market in human services fields may differ markedly in respect to one sub-group as opposed to the other. This receptivity is particularly important in terms of the age extremes as there may be many human service positions for which the over 45 year old worker or the adolescent youth will not qualify. Mention of special groups of trainers and their particular training needs leads into another area which is a source of concern to project operators. This is the mix of various sub-populations within one training situation, either within a single classroom or within a single work unit during on-the-job training. Among the opinions expressed by operators, trainers and trainees with whom we conversed contradictory opinions were expressed. One example, pointing out the necessity of systematic research on the problem is - in respect to age differences: it is preferrable to separate according to age because the pace of youth who have recently been in school is much more rapid than that of adults.

Particular emphasis, at least in the literature and verbal rhetoric of New Careers is given in utilizing the "positives" from the background of the trainees as a basis upon which to build curriculum content. Although as a principal making training experience relevant to the life experiences of poverty populations is given much advocacy, little is actually known about what in the background or diverse backgrounds of the trainees should be used and how to incorporate this into the training experience. Research needs to be undertaken to define exactly what are the "strengths" that someone from a disadvantaged community learns, what are the peculiar coping mechanisms that allow for functioning, what knowledge about the neighborhood political and economic structures does one living in and aware of the community possess that an outsider does not. Information of this order not only will provide a relevant basis upon which to base a trainee curriculum to interest the disadvantaged trainee but in itself can be adapted as part of the content of a curriculum aimed at training the supervisors and professional workers within the user agencies about the characteristics and life experiences of the incoming paraprofessionals. Curriculum materials based upon a survey of this order should be evaluated when introduced so that they can be improved upon. The reactions of trainees and trainers are important to a continuous process of re-examination of training content and improvements.

Descriptions of what on-the-job training activities actually consist of would be a useful research endeavor for future planners of New Careers and other employment advancement programs. This component is more difficult to design and operate than classroom training in that there has not been developed a successful model for on-the-job training.

One of the major requirements for designing on-the-job training at this time for New Careers programs is to separate the dynamics of this component which distinguish it as a training experience for paraprofessional workers involved in an upgrading program from normal supervision that would be given a non-professional during the course of his performing a typical "dead-end" job. What distinguishes on-the-job training from typical supervision? Comparisons of these two processes within similar employment establishments will address the issue.

They may or may not differ in the following aspects:

frequency of contact
setting of contact
length of contact
regularity of contacts
number of other persons present
positions of others present
evaluation procedure
evaluation criteria
frequency of responsibility shifts

To fully understand the problem of the difference between the role of supervisors and training and the role difference between workers and trainee, interviews should be conducted with examples of each working in comparable settings. It would be desirable to interview professional workers who normally supervise nonprofessionals during the course of their job responsibilities but who were assigned also the task of on-the-job training for persons involved in the New Careers programs to ascertain their definitions of differences in the two assignments.

One problem which affects training for New Careers on the project as well as the more formalized credentialled training is the transferrability of the training experience from one situation to another. Many projects designed along a New Careers model award certificates at the end of the initial project training. Thus far these certificates have little value in the labor market outside of direct involvement within the project. A survey should be conducted on a national scale to assess the merit and transferrability of these certificates to other training programs, other agencies in the field in which the program participant was trained, other human service fields and across state lines. Efforts should also be made to ascertain whether New Careers certificates can substitute for tests when such are required for specific jobs, i.e., civil service positions or licensed practical nurses, etc. As a hampering factor in upgrading as well as lateral mobility, the question of the transferrability value of a certificate is also linked to the method by which new projects for paraprofessionals are founded. It was mentioned by several respondents that they had trouble placing their trainees because of this.

Despite the needs for paraprofessional workers who have been trained in some programs such as departments of mental health, funds for the hiring of such persons are usually extended as parts of training grants. Thus the employer is forced to train its own workers from scratch; and similar workers trained elsewhere cannot switch employment sites. The extent to which this situation is typical and the number of persons affected by it should be known so that if changes are required at a policy level in order to maximize training resources the foundation for making such changes is firm. Perhaps processes can be worked out so that several human service agencies can pool their training funds and other resources and thus trainees can choose among them and move freely between them should they decide upon changing intitial choices. This question is closely related to the issue of who, or more precisely, what classification of agency is the best to act as the training facility. The range of agencies functioning as such within New Careers is broad.

On the topic of Human Relations training or the part of the training curriculum which deals with the community in which the program is located and which its trainees are to serve, a frequently voiced complaint both by paraprofessionals and trainers is that if the New Careerist is indigenous to the area he or she usually knows more about the subject than does the trainer. The individual project director should undertake a study of the target community to be served by his paraprofessional workers gathering statistical data in the major problems in the area and their prevalence, and the kinds of demographic data contained in census reports. The service agencies in the area, eligibility requirements, addresses, telephone numbers and contact persons should be collated and distributed. Relevant contacts with wider based agencies should also be collected and distributed. This kind of a factural basis upon which to develop the training is necessary to measure job performance as well as to stimulate and motivate the trainees. In discussing the various aspects of project training this particular component has been cited most often by trainees as weak and as a "waste of time" for them, an aspect for which they saw no performance function.

This discussion in training methodology will conclude with one other problem confronting New Careers programs in regard to training. This is the area of assessment of the impact of the training upon the trainees. In order for this type of training, with its unorthodox focus upon career performance, to be accepted for accreditation some standardized measures of learning achievement must be developed in the form of tests--written or verbal, attitude scales, trainer rating form, etc. The development of these instruments is a research task for which the local project operator will probably not be granted funds, nor have the personnel who are qualified to tackle this issue. Nevertheless, New Careers type training will be dependent upon some such undertaking before it becomes institutionalized, and thus research funds should be allocated toward the development, testing and refining of such instruments. Those projects which are attempting to change academic credentialling patterns by seeking credit for training and job experience will particularly benefit by having some formalized way of demonstrating achievement.

Assessment of past materials written for adult remediation and the reformulation of these into lessons relevant to the skill training needed for the career placement would increase the amount of utilization received from this part of the training. At present, there is an acknowledged dearth of remediation materials that can sustain the interest of mature learners. If materials were adapted learning may proceed more rapidly.

Theoretically the student who is exposed to a mix of work experience and academically oriented training will proceed at a fairly equal pace in his or her progress in both components. In actuality, this may not be the case as some trainees may be more academically oriented while others fail at classroom measurements but respond to on-the-job training and perform well. If New Careers orientation is to be truly a new road to a career its training must be flexible enough to account for this.

Yet, assessment of the students progress in each component of his total training experience may be two entirely separate processes and the types of judgements exercised by the different training personnel do not get relayed to the students or the other trainers. Research should be undertaken to devise measurements of work performance that can be specified as to particular qualities or tasks rather than total evaluations so that the project trainer handling the more academically oriented curriculum may profit.

However, besides serving as a coordinative mechanism, the results of these performance measurements should be analyzed in conjunction with socio-economic and personality characteristics of the trainees. What types of trainees do better in certain training situations than in others--what types of handicaps tend to hamper performance in one setting or another, etc? On the basis of this kind of research not only will needs for adapting curriculum emerge but special needs of certain sub-populations of paraprofessional trainees relevant to one or another teaching approach may be evidenced. An obvious example is the English As A Second Language group. Whereas, their deficiency in language is obvious and clearly points to training to overcome this particular lack, the ramifications faulty English may have upon other aspects of training is not known, nor are other common characteristics this group may have.

What are the consequences both for the program and for the trainees of mixing particular groups together either during training sessions or in work situations? What different emphasis must training have for different groups of persons. Can an on-the-job training experience actually have a negative effect if it keeps the career-oriented paraprofessionals isolated from other nonprofessionals within the same institution? This latter question is an important one in fostering the growth of career lines within a user agency. The relative costs of providing on-the-job training to New Careerists only or to the entire nonprofessional staff should be investigated. If the addition of the training component to supervision increases the productivity of paraprofessional workers even if they are not included in the other aspect of training, it may be beneficial to the user agency. However, this leadsto dissatisfaction about the dearth of advancement opportunities.

Since the next chapter deals with supportive services, the role of the counselor during training will not be elaborated upon here. The coordination necessary between trainer and counselor should be stressed. In relationship to this, the attitudes of the trainees toward the training process should be assessed both because one's self-image, attitudes toward training environments, and motivations are especially important in their ability to absorb material and because changes, both positive and negative, in these attitudinal factors during the course of one's involvement as a trainee will point to other kinds of subject adaptions.

In addition, although the funding for released time to participate in community college accredited programs is relatively small, there are greater numbers of paraprofessionals engaged in in-service training programs that are not as yet accredited. Systematic documentation of the content of these in-service training programs may provide the basis for establishing new types of courses in the accredited institutions as well as possibly serving as leverage to commence institutions to grant credits for in-service training already completed. This will reach a larger section of paraprofessionals than will purely government funded upgrading programs. In-service training must also be provided to the paraprofessional who has been working in the agency but who now must assume a somewhat different role and new responsibilities with the advent of the paraprofessional program. Skills must be taught as well as attitudes.

What are the actual attitudinal and role changes necessary in the professional in order to work with the nonprofessional? Analysis of working relations by field and employing establishment and interviews with professionals who have not been exposed to the program will provide a factual base on which to adapt current in-service training and create new approaches and curricula. Previously, these courses were based upon theoretical conjectures of what the role changes would be. Now that the program has progressed through several years, efforts must be directed to testing whether these assumptions proved valid, where gaps in professional training exist, what unanticipated modifications are required, etc.

For the purpose of coordination with other training programs and increased ability to utilize innovations across project lines as the innovations would be applicable and advantageous, the project should compare its training component with other occupational training programs for the disadvantaged existing in the community. Such programs may include Neighborhood Youth Corps, OJT, JOBS programs, CEP, OIC's, etc. The similarities and dissimilarities of training components should be assessed in terms of: target population, selection, personnel, content, methods, goals and costs. Of course, a cross program analysis of training components of this type is also feasible on a national level.

Furthermore, the training of New Careers participants when this project is incorporated within a larger project, as in cases when Concentrated Employment Programs or Community Action Agencies sponsor the New Careers project, the differences in training should be compared to New Careers training operating under separate auspices. The emphasis of such a comparison is upon whether the training features of the New Careers project is distinguishable from other training programs under the auspices of these umbrella agencies. So, what are the unique features within this component and are these features the same or different than to those incorporated into isolated New Careers projects?

Structurally, the New Careers training programs are essentially employment-related occupationally-oriented training and have been handled as such during the bulk of this chapter. However, the "institutional change" goal within the New Careers concept must also be incorporated as a training goal. The issue remains how this goal becomes translated operationally into training.

There is a need for assessing the manner in which this goal is presented to the participants within a training program. Is it taught in terms of skills of community organization communication, inter-team cooperation or human relations or is it presented as an attitudinal goal or one aimed at increased motivation or enhanced self-image? The manner in which these goals are presented and whether the definition of the goal comes from project administration, trainer, trainee or is a joint endeavor important to ascertain in analyzing and demonstrating the effectiveness of the training effort. Certainly, of the three major goals of a project designed along a New Careers model, the institutional change is the most difficult to evaluate either for total impact or training assessment.

Although this chapter is directed to the local level, it must be noted that a recurring complaint voiced by trainers of paraprofessionals is that they feel as if they are working in a vacuum-beginning their design efforts with no knowledge of what programs in other parts of the country or in other fields are doing. The amount of duplication of mistakes must certainly be great.

The trainers state they do not have sufficient paid time to allow them to write down successful curriculums which they have developed. This emphasis on implementation rather than training curriculum development forces the individual trainer to work from unfinished notes which have utilization for no one but himself. This situation suggests the need for development grants.

Some consideration should be taken within the design of a New Careers training program for job training programs that the participants may have been enrolled in prior to their enrollment in this project. Because of the recent trend for poverty populations to move from one training slot to another it is an important consideration to asses how much of the material to be covered will be new to the majority of participants or the extent to which there will be repetition. Once the content of the other training programs is known then the trainer can assess where his trainees are weakest from their past histories.

Studies should be done of the training needs of professionals who lack the skills and experience of training, supervision, team work, coaching, etc. The project training team must assume the responsibility for conducting in-service training classes to convey these skills to the professionals employed by the user agencies. However, if efforts are being made on the part of the project to acquire accreditation from teaching institutions for training given the paraprofessional, assessment should also be undertaken about what kinds of credits or certification can be offered to professional workers as inducements to take in-service training courses.

Many trainers have not been in a teaching situation for many years and their involvement in the training program may cause severe disruptive forces in their personal lives. On the other hand there may be positive effects. The impact of the training experience upon the personal lives of the participants should be studied as its implications will have ramifications for the logistics of training, methods, materials and supportive services needed during the training period. The differences in impact should be analyzed by core versus generic curriculums, remediation versus occupational training goals, etc. Some efforts should be made not only to calculate the effect of the classroom training in the on-the-job training component through performance evaluation but also the reciprocal effects. Does the work experience component in turn effect learning behavior in the more orthodox training environment? One way to approach this issue is to follow the patterns of trainees from the orientation and basic training before the on-the-job training was introduced to see if any measureable differences in learning behavior can be noted with the introduction of this feature.

Studies should be undertaken to assess the nature of the relationship established between trainer and trainee during the training period. Current educational theory tends to stress the dynamics of relationship and quality of interaction as an important element in a learning situation over and above the content and methods of instruction. The quality of this relationship and the impact upon both trainer and trainees should be analyzed by: atmosphere of classroom--authoritarian, laisee-faire, democratic, ethnic similarity or difference between trainer and trainee; sex comparison; socio-economic status comparison; past experience of trainer; past experience of trainees.

If these variables do make a difference in receptivity to learning the implications for selection of trainers are clear. Interviews with trainers and trainees should also ferret out the amounts of dependency that the trainee has for the trainer, whether the dependency serves a beneficial or hampering function, and if the latter, how it can be neutralized. The same type of study should be undertaken to assess and analyze the relationship between trainer and on-the-job trainee. Whether or not the relationship has the same significance and if the significance is greater or lesser, the reasons for this and its implications in the learning of the trainee.

The evaluation of a training program in the usual manpower project depends upon the end results of the training--whether the trainee was placed in a satisfactory job, what his subsequent employment record was, whether his job performance was satisfactory, whether he continued his educational development, etc. Within the New Careers program these measures of success are also relevant; however, because of the close linkage between training and job performance, more immediate measures must be developed.

Certainly, during any period of training, even though the overall training results are effective, there are sessions which should be improved upon and others which are completely successful. In order to maximize the training experience, and possibly shorten the time of training, methods must be developed for immediate assessment and feedback to the trainer about the success or failure to achieve the particular objectives of any one training session or series of sessions focused on a single objective.

It is important, in order to enable this research to be successfully undertaken that the objective(s) of a training session be clearly specified by the trainers. This task, aside from its utility in early identification of problems and feedback to trainer, is a step, and an essential one, in the achievement of a written curriculum for the training of paraprofessionals.

Questions related to the responsibility of the project to insure the quality of the design of the on-the-job training were not answered systematically. It seems that this portion of the project varies considerably dependent upon the personalities of the project administrators. A study, conducted on a national level, about the kinds of receptivity to the training responsibilities by various user agencies, how much control they allow the project to have in the design, the kinds of coordination with the project training staff, etc., would be helpful.

Where employing agencies have allowed maximum coordination and controls and have maintained a consistent quality in their training the types of contacts made by the project and the criteria used to select the user agency should be collected. This information when made available to the local project operator will prove useful in determining how to approach agencies about their training obligations and how to ascertain which agencies have the interest, personnel capabilities, and facilities to conduct effective on-the-job training programs connected to upward career mobility. This same sort of assessment should be undertaken with regard to the possibility of contracting out portions of the training programs. Most frequently, projects will contract with a national consultant firm to undertake the initial phase (careers training of the trainees) or with community colleges or other educational institutions to conduct the remediation. Component criteria for selection of contracts should be included in national guidelines.

Project Organization and Supportive Services

In the area of project organization and supportive services interest is focused upon the most efficient forms of organizing projects and the most effective type and manner of delivery of supportive services to project enrollees.

This chapter will deal with those services designed to "support" the trainees, many of whom come from deprived backgrounds, to achieve and maintain employee status. Such supportive services are: counseling, medical dental services, day care, remediation, and job readiness training, e.g. grooming, etc.

This area is closely linked to project organization in that the way in which supportive services fit the project design is a crucial variable in success. Thus, although the crucial question in this area is how the organizational structure of the project delivers services those services must be must be multi-directed. A unique facet of new careers-type programs is that often the deliverers of the service require that service to the same extent as the formal recipients.

Relationship of the supportive service elements to the working life of the program participants is an extremely delicate matter. The manner in which such services are delivered to project enrollees is often a key factor as to whether the new careerist acts as a "service-giver" or as a "peer" to the agency clientele.

Accordingly, empirical studies dealing with new careers projects, should be launched to study the issues listed below. In selecting samples of these projects, two key variables are: the characteristics of the enrollee population, and the field of human service.

Hopefully, analysis of project organization and its relation to supportive services will reduce the amount of projects in which the lack of coordination among the various program stages an enrollee must traverse produces additional strains and anxieties. Particularly in a complex program model such as new careers additional strains may produce serious effects which will impede the enrollee's performance on the job and in the educational setting, as well as possibly affecting his personal life.

Types of Supportive Services

Other sections of this report dealt with studies designed to acquire empirical data on the needs of new careers target populations. These studies provide a base upon which the project director at the local level can rely to aid in recognizing the range of problems with which his enrollees are faced and providing needed services.

In addition to services required which emanate from problems enrollees had prior to entry into the new careers program, studies should be undertaken to identify additional supportive services which might be needed due to the nature of this program. One example of a significant difference between new careers programs and other manpower programs which might necessitate new kinds of services is the generally obscure demarcation between trainee and employee status. Unlike many programs in which the training period is ended and then the enrollee is hired, new careers enrollees are trainees at the same time at which they are working in the agency in which they hope to become permanent employees.

Thus, the program participant is exposed to input at least from his "trainer" and his "supervisor." This situation may be further complicated depending upon the extent of additional supportive service an enrollee is given.

Interviews with project enrollees at various points within a new careers program will yield data relating to: the crucial needs at each stage, including emotional and psychological insecurities: and the manner in which these needs were or were not met. Attention should also be given to information needed by enrollees at various stages. Analysis of this data will provide guidelines for specific services to be included in a project and the time frame during which to provide them.

Organization of Supportive Services

Studies must be launched specifically of the supportive services of a project so that a project operator has a basis for determining the answers to two questions:

a) What has proven to be the most effective method by which to deal with a particular problem?

b) What are the most effective ways to coordinate and organize the delivery of these services?

The former question may be addressed through a study such as that recommended in the above section. The latter may be approached through management studies of the range of structures in the various service fields with particular emphasis upon

: Types of services offered the new careers enrollees;

: Who provides the services - which agency and which specific personnel;

: Who are the services available to;

: What are the similarities and differences between supportive services offered project enrollees and those offered agency clientele?

A crucial factor is whether supportive services are provided under the aegis of the employer agency, training agency, a non-project community agency, or any combination of agencies; and the linkages between the agency(ies) and the project (the fact that services are provided by one or another of these agencies may be a product of availability of service or choice by enrollee of the "helper" he prefers.) Another significant question is whether the new careers project is an autonomous program or a component of a multi-service agency.

Although it is highly conceivable that additional inter-organizational models will be found, the following illustrations present different agency complexes which should be included in the study.

a) Community mental health clinic which offers it services on a scheduled basis to project enrollees.

b) A new-careers project which provides its own couselling services to its enrollees.

c) A project which is located within a multi-service umbrella agency, e.g. CEP, receiving counselling services from another arm of the umbrella agency.

d) An educational institution which provides the supportive services and the linkage to employment for project enrollees.

Once the various inter-organization constructs are grouped it is important to seek clarification re: how each structure effects the following areas

: Motivation of paraprofessionals to continue whithin the field,

: Job performance of paraprofessionals,

: Upward mobility,

: Attitudes of other persons employed in the user agency toward the paraprofessionals;

: Efficiency of supportive service delivery,

: Costs of supportive services per paraprofessional,

: Effectiveness in providing transitional linkages between program stages.

It is important to note that the recommendation of this study is based upon the assumption that the quality of supportive services will be impaired or facilitated by the process by which it is delivered.

Services Related to Problems Unique to New Careers

One research undertaking necessary to new careers programs emanates from the fact that many of the program enrollees are adult women with family responsibilities. This fact, coupled with the goal of new careers to radically change the life style of its enrollees, must produce various reactions, by enrollees' husbands and/or children which may affect family relationships.

Data should be gathered on the problems this creates for female enrollees, the situations in which it occurs, and the kinds of supportive services which may alleviate some of these problems. Some of these services may be provided by the project, while others e.g. day care, may require cooperative efforts with community agencies.

Another research issue concerns the variety of counselling roles and models used in new careers projects, and the variety of persons who simultaneously attempt to "help" the enrollee. The manner in which "multiple-counselling" creates stress for an enrollee, and a way by which to smooth potentially disturbing situations will be important research findings.

Observations and recordings of interchanges between such persons and project enrollees will yield descriptions of the manner in which different approaches are performed in the project situation and source material on techniques for most effective "counselling."

A third area requiring a unique counselling approach concerns the fact that much of the curriculum material to which enrollees are exposed closely resembles problems in their personal lives. Their open exposure and intellectual handling may prove to be extremely difficult for some project participants who may need assistance and guidance during this period. In this instance, research should first test the hypothesis which is presented here, then attempt to develop new supportive services if the hypothesis proves correct.

Social change theory is a major part of the curricula examined during this study. It is one goal of education and training to make the trainees capable of changing malpractices by "attacking" the institutional structures of the agencies where they are placed. What was surprising however to many of our respondents was that the trainees began to practice new found social change techniques on them either concurrently with employee agencies or instead of attempting change in these institutions. Particularly with reference to the goal of Institutional Change materials, many problems emerge for enrollees which may require additional supportive services.

What is necessary for project planners to understand are the factors which contribute to upheavals within project structure, e.g. demographic characteristics of participants and staff and the stresses this places on enrollees. To clarify: much training emphasis within new careers projects is geared to explanation and illustration of service inadequacies. Examples of inefficiencies in service delivery, both deliberate e.g. due to discrimination, and inadvertent e.g. due to lack of know-how about human services in poverty areas, are presented to the trainees.

Unfortunately, data has not been collected on the prevalence of types of "uprisings" within new career projects. This data would serve several purposes for project planners.

1) It is important to understand the causal factors underlying project disturbances. Those that come to mind may be economic disputes, placement

shortages, interpersonal conflicts, or political or ideological differences between trainees and project personnel. Analysis of these reasons will serve the purpose of assessing whether causes are due to local situationss or if there are factors within the project framework which leads to disillusionment and conflict. The instance cited above where students may in fact be acting out part of the training presented to them would be an instance of the latter type which may ultimately be viewed as a positive feature of new careers programs.

2) By and large, projects have successfully handled these situations. Research attention should be drawn to methods used in handling any social action conflicts, whether involving the project itself, the educational and/or training agencies or the employment site. A study directed toward this question should document all tactics used by both sides of the conflict. Most of this analysis will be after the fact and it will be both difficult to locate the necessary informants as well as to sort out the facts from various perspectives of an emotionally charged situation. However, interviews may be supplemented by published accounts in news media, professional journals and new careerist publications.

3) Data should be gathered on the programmatic results of all conflicts. Such assessment should yield valuable data relating to those organizational and structural changes within projects desired by participants.

4) An attempt should be undertaken to utilize the data gathered on this issue to devise forms and uses of supportive services which may be required to enable the enrollees to cope most effectively with the conflict situation

and to acquire the maximum benefits from exposure to it.

New Careers Project Organization

Clearly, a first priority in research leading to the most efficacious organizational structure, is a study of the type of agency or institution in which to lodge a project.

New careers legislation permits the channeling of funds to a vast array of types of agencies: employer agencies, educational agencies, anti-poverty programs, manpower agencies and unions, etc. Each of these generic types serve different functions with regard to the institutional complexes of any community, and the role they play and their goals, both professed and latent, will invariably have an impact upon the functioning of the project.

However, there seems to have been little effort made to assess the relative merits of lodging the project in any given type of institution. One obvious reason for this lack is the relative youth of the program. Experience with new careers projects, however, has now reached the stage at which such a policy question should be asked.

Data, gathered through questionnaires addressed to the local projects, on the problems of implementation of the model in the various types of agencies should be sought.

This data should be assessed using the following indicators:

a) a major qualifiable indicator of differences will be the amount of time which elapses between various stages of project development and growth.

b) a second qualifiable indicator would be the costs incurred in reaching each program level in project development. In order to gather this data technical assistance might have to be supplied to the projects to enable the cost accounting.

There are basic stages occurring in every new careers project. Thus, policy-makers should have a firm grasp on the times and costs involved at each level. Some of the stages of comparison would be: recruitment and staffing of project personnel; recruitment and selection of program participants; development of supportive services; contractual arrangement with educational institutions and training agencies; placement in field positions, etc. Through such cross agency comparisons it may become clear that there are certain institutional structures that have better "success" at launching this type of project than do others. Of course, other variables must be correlated besides generic classification of agency type, among which are

: Past experience with manpower and/or anti-poverty programs;

: Past experience with educational programs;

: Past experience with poverty populations;

: Available community facilities;

: Inter-organizational ties;

: Basic agency goals

Although we are introducing this study around the issue of type of institution or agency in which to lodge a project there are various other organizational features which will benefit from this analytical model, such as: whether private or public educational institutions should be used, etc.

Such research undertakings will result in a range of relationships between organizational and structural variables. The basic overview question being: What modification in project structure will yield the greatest facility in project development.

Career Ladders within Project Structures

New careers projects often are faced with the organizational problem of staffing their own administrative, clerical and supportive service staffs. This stage, crucial to all manpower programs becomes more significant to new career programs as it is indicative of whether they do or do not follow their own philosophy.

Suggesting career designs to employer agencies, it is too often the case that the project does not incorporate career ladders of its own. How prevalent this is among these projects and the ramifications of the presence or absence of an in-project career ladder for paraprofessionals is recommended as an area for research exploration and illumination.

The first part of the survey will seek to determine to what extent career ladders exist in the projects through such questions as: Are educational and training opportunities offered staff; who are the recipients of these services; what criteria are used with which to assess performance for raises and promotions; what are the requirements for various positions, etc.

The effects of existence of career ladders must also be explored. The researcher may initiate the concept of career ladder ramifications into his questionnaire by asking questions similar to the following:

: In negotiating with employer agencies do you ever point to your own experiences in staffing as a positive example? If yes, what effects do you believe this has?

: Have members of your staff ever complained about lack of mobility opportunities?

: Have project enrollees expressed displeasure with job qualifications for project staff?

In addition, as has been suggested above, a bank of data including all qualifiable data pertaining to time-cost factors will serve multiple purposes, among which will be: correlations between time-cost variables and the presence or absence of in-project career ladders.

Channels of Funding

One more research issue in relation to structure is the question of how funds are fed to the individual new careers projects.

On the whole, this is not a question which has only relevance to new careers, for what the funding difficulties are is problematic for most federally-funded projects. However, new careers being no exception it is worthy of a management efficiency and cost accounting study.

This study should attempt a step-by-step tracing through the "funding maze" describing all processes and forms necessary but also atempting to define the unanticipated problems which arise, e.g. the unexplained delays due to technical discrepancies, etc.

Within each institutional complex typology the researchers should select a representative project to investigate. All persons handling and directing funds should be described with titles, qualifications and tasks performed.

The primary focus of the survey as described in these few paragraphs should assist in the processes and organization of the design of fund allocation, utilization and accountability. Comparison of the various processing routes as well as analysis of reasons for difficulties should lead to an understanding of the most efficient ways of administering funds, accounting for funds spent, and requesting funds, as well as point out those structural complexes which provide the most difficult financing problems in terms of both money flow and funding accountability.

Conclusion

One critical question which must be asked in starting off on a new careers type project is that of organizational structure needed to reach the triple goals of manpower, anti-poverty and institutional change and how these affect project development and the enrollees. Among the factors which we have attempted to point attention to in this chapter are the following:

: The type of institution acting as sponsor, trainer, employer, etc. The major differences in designing and implementing new careers projects in an established agency in contrast to one which is in the process of being established?

: The linkages between the various agencies fulfilling various roles in relation to a project enrollee. If they are in fact fulfilled by different types of institutions: are they all articulating the same goals, does the structure facilitate communication; how do the professionals in each relate to each other and to the trainees.

: The staffing patterns and career ladders utilized within the project.

: The supportive services available to project participants: is there an explicit or implicit difference in services offered to participants and to clients.

A recommendation which has been reiterated many times in this report is that an essential research undertaking is the establishment of a centralized data bank. In this area, particularly, many of the research undertakings designed for new careers programs may be germane to other manpower programs and a data bank will facilitate their usage.

VOLUME III

Assessing the Impact of the New Careers Program

Prepared by: The Center for Social Policy
and Program Development
Graduate School of Social Work
New York University

Introduction

The essential need for evaluative studies has been stressed in each of the earlier volumes. These studies were intended to assess the effectiveness of individual components of new careers programs--recruitment, selection, training, educational and various support activities. Each component was presumed to be addressed to one or more appropriate sub-objectives. Theoretically, fulfillment of the program's sub-objectives will lead to the achievement of its principal or ultimate objectives. The studies proposed in this volume are intended in one sense to determine whether this is in fact the case, whether the assumed relationships between a program's sub-objectives and its ultimate objectives hold.

The focus of this volume, consequently, is on the ultimate objectives of new careers programs. Has the program actually accomplished what it was designed to achieve. At what cost? These are the questions which increasingly occupy the attention of program administrators and of the broader public. Less concern is exhibited for the effectiveness of the mechanics of the program. The result is that while there is great pressure on new careers programs to relieve existing manpower shortages, to employ the poor and to improve institutional services, there is comparatively little willingness to support much needed research and other necessary resources to improve the capacity of the program for achieving these objectives.

Nevertheless, the studies proposed in this volume are addressed primarily to the establishment of an empirical basis for effecting improvements in the planning and operation of new careers programs. They should be of use not only to those whose programs are specifically subjected to empirical evaluation, but to others who are already involved in the program or are preparing to do so. For these groups, evaluative research should provide:

1. descriptions and analyses of program activities including problems encountered and changes effected,
2. measurements of program outputs in terms of both its defined objectives and unanticipated consequences, and
3. explanations of the programmatic and non-programmatic influences responsible for the measured outcomes.

If the purposes of this volume are to be achieved--program development and widespread dissemination and use of evaluative research findings--the studies will have to do more than measure program outcomes. Such measurements are basically meaningful only when there is intimate knowledge of that which was measured. Failure to describe and analyze the program which was evaluated severely limits the usefulness of research findings to a knowledgeable few. Similar limitations attached to studies which fail to explain the factors, both programmatic and non-programmatic which influenced the perceived program outcomes. Whether one is willing to describe a given set of measured outcomes as successful or unsuccessful, it is clear that by itself it does not explain the findings. It sheds little light on the differential contribution of individual program components and other influences to program results. It does not provide answers to such questions as: Why did the program not achieve better results? How can the program be improved? If evaluation research is to contribute to the improvement of new careers programs, it will have to be designed to provide such explanations.

In a very concrete way, program evaluation closes the loop of a problem-solving process which is initiated with the identification and analysis of the problem and proceeds to program planning and operation. As noted earlier, program evaluation is here considered as an indispensable component of problem-solving processes leading to continuing efforts to heighten program effectiveness. In this volume, therefore, the principal thrust and structure of the studies recommended are derived primarily from the goals and concepts of the new careers program discussed in Volume I. To ascertain whether new careers programs have in fact achieved their anti-poverty, manpower and/or institutional change objectives, evaluative studies are described which focus on the impact of the program upon the paraprofessionals themselves, the agencies which employ them, the clients they serve, and the broader professional structures in which they operate. Within each category, the studies recommended will consider measurement and analysis of outcomes which were not directly addressed by program planners.

To explain measured outcomes the studies in this volume will rely almost exclusively on programmed factors and influences, such as an agency's job structure, the relationship between paraprofessional and other staff, the availability and use of community resources, the nature and effectiveness of its recruitment, selection and training programs and the type of educational opportunities available to paraprofessionals. This procedure neglects the influence of non-programmed factors upon measured program outcomes. This is certainly not intended. Clearly there are many events of a political, social and economic nature which occur in local communities and in the nation which have critical consequences for the new careers programs. They are omitted here simply because their diversity makes them awkward to handle in the framework of this discussion. But, they must be reflected in the design of individual research studies.

On the other hand, the impact of non-professional events upon new careers programs can be designed as separate studies. For example, much useful guidance for new careers program planners and administrators can be derived from studies of new national policies and programs intended to reduce inflation, to control the environment, to provide educational vouchers and to establish a new family assistance or income maintenance plan. These issues are susceptible to "before and after" research designs applied to a nationally representative sample of communities. Similar studies of new or contemplated policies and programs at state and local levels should also be undertaken. That is to say in terms of institutional impact the goals of New Careers programs are similar to those which are supposed to result from the use of machines. What role can the paraprofessional play in the face of new mechanical developments?

The creation and spread of these devices might have three alternative effects upon the paraprofessionals:

(1) the programmed instruction devices may perform the same tasks as a paraprofessional;

(2) the activities of paraprofessionals may serve as auxilliaries to the machines and the combination may provide the teacher; or

(3) the utilization of paraprofessionals with mechanical teaching devices may eliminate the necessity for a teacher per class format. For example, a combination of paraprofessional aide and direct-circuit television may permit one fully trained teacher to function simultaneously with two or three classes, can be carried out with regard to various combinations of machine and paraprofessional utilization at preschool, elementary and secondary levels.

By their very nature the studies in this volume are often overlapping. This reflects the fact that new careers program objectives are not mutually exclusive and in various ways coexist symbiotically with a single agency. As a result, though the studies are discussed discreetly they may be variously combined between and within the four major categories which comprise the structure of this volume.

It is worth remarking again that impact studies should contain detailed descriptions of the new careers programs under analysis and explanations of the factors and dynamics which influence the program outcomes measured in terms of the program's impact on the paraprofessionals, the agencies, the agencies' clients and on professional structures and values. In the studies discussed below it is assumed that project descriptions will be appropriately incorporated into specific research designs. As a consequence, the discussion focuses upon the types of measurements which should be made, and on the analysis of potentially explanatory variables.

A Methodological Note

As noted, the studies discussed in this volume involve essentially similar research problems:

(1) to measure the extent of change upon paraprofessionals, human service agencies, their clients and upon the structure of selected human service professions, and

(2) to determine the extent to which these measured changes may be attributed to the program and to other influences.

These problems of measurement and attribution of change may be approached through a variety of designs and methods. However, a longitudinal study design offers the greatest potential for dealing with both problems. On the other hand, cross-sectional studies of new careerists applied at an appropriate point in their new careers may also be usefully employed. Baseline data essential for the measurement of change may be acquired through retrospective questions and other available techniques.

While cross-sectional studies undertaken at a single point in time are perfectly capable of measuring change, they are less adequate than longitudinal studies for dealing with the dynamics of change and for resolving the attribution problem. Yet they are less costly in time and money. Ultimately, the design selected will be determined by the anticipated uses of a study's findings, the resources available and varying conceptions of the nature of the problems involved. Generally, however, longitudinal designs promise the greater contribution to program development and refinement.

The measurement and attribution of change are aided considerably by the use of control or comparative groups. The types of groups which may be used are numerous: paraprofessionals in human service occupations who are not in the new careers program, paraprofessionals in non-human service occupations, trainees in such other manpower training programs as the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, or any randomly selected group whose characteristics closely resemble those of the experimental new careers group. Comparisons between new careerists and trainees in other manpower training programs are especially attractive. They offer a vehicle for incorporating in the research design a series of significant questions closely related to the principal concerns with measuring and attributing program change. The same is true for studies of non-new careers paraprofessionals in human service occupations and of new careerists in non-human service occupations. The former is capable of producing selected benchmarks of program performance against which to measure the outcomes of the new careers program. The latter are likely to shed new light on the potential and impediments of human service occupations in relation to other occupations.

Impact on Paraprofessionals

The new careers program is significantly though not exclusively related to anti-poverty objectives. Even if this were not so, it would be important to ascertain in specific terms what the program has done particularly for the poor paraprofessionals themselves. Has it alleviated unwanted conditions of underemployment and unemployment? Has it enabled them to become established in the job market as more than marginal workers? Has it provided a reliable escape route from poverty and near-poverty? What other effects has the program had upon paraprofessionals?

Potentially, the effects of the program are obviously numerous. Not all have received equal public attention, nor have all been the objects of program planning. By far the greatest stress has been placed upon anti-poverty objectives. It has been assumed further that the accomplishment of this objective must proceed through structural changes in human service occupations which provide maximum opportunity for upward mobility. Emphasis upon upward mobility has been so intense that it is perhaps the single most important criterion for determining program success. It is no longer simply a highly desirable means to achieve anti-poverty goals, it is an end in itself which is implicitly related to social goals that are much more complex in nature. Thus for many observers it is not sufficient for the new careers program to place needy persons in jobs whose rewards not only exceed their expectations but which substantially relieve their inadequate financial and employment conditions. The program must also provide opportunities for genuine career advancement.* What is

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* See, for example, the useful report of the National Committee on Employment of Youth, "Where Do We Go From Here?" December 1969. In particular, see Chapter X, p. 1.

What is critical about upward mobility are not simply wage increases but advancement in occupational status.

The implications of these operative conceptions for research are clear. First, the impact of the new careers program upon paraprofessionals must be studied principally in employment terms. Second, within this context primary attention should be devoted to determining the type and extent of career advancement. There are, however, additional non-employment related effects of the program which also deserve analysis. For example, there is evidence to suggest that the new careers program may have a seminal influence upon the development of leadership in poor communities and upon the broader movement for community participation. Accordingly, recommendations for studies of non-employment effects of the program will be treated here as a second major research category.

1. Employment-Related Outcomes

Consistent with the objectives of the new careers program there is an expected series of basic outcomes which should be subjected to initial measurement. These outcomes should be compared to similar measures of the new careerists research subjects taken prior to their participation in the new careers program and to control or compare groups. At a minimum such measures should include:

: Changes in occupational status which reflect upward mobility. There is something of a problem here which is related to the period of time within which such advancement should occur. Protagonists of the new careers program appear to be somewhat conflicted on this point. Motivated by anti-poverty objectives and the belief that the paraprofessional can fulfill certain tasks more effectively than the professional, they argue for a relatively rapid rate of advancement. On the other hand, their recognition of the need of the paraprofessional to acquire specified educational credentials as well as other prerequisites for advancement appears to argue in the opposite direction. The question is crucial in determining when measurements of change in occupational status are to be made. The danger, of course, lies in unrealistic expectations of rapid change. Nevertheless, measurements should include type of change and reasons for change as well as the interval of time associated with the change. Did the status changes involve expanded and higher orders of technical tasks, or supervisory, training or administrative responsibilities, or some combination of these? Were the changes based primarily upon superior individual job performance, length of time in grade, acquisition of education or other credentials, a reorganization which produced a general upgrading of existing paraprofessional positions, of some combination of these? In addition, data should be obtained on the extent to which the upward mobility of paraprofessionals occurs within the agency of original placement and the extent to which it is related to a change of employer.

: Changes in wages. Wage increases obviously do not necessarily signify career advancement. Nevertheless, they are of special significance for the poor among the new careerists and for those whose career goals are relatively modest. But, of course, wage increases are of tangible and psychological value to all. These values increase with the size of the income and the shorter the period of time in which it is earned. Wage increases may be the means by which many new careerists escape poverty, but they may also affect their decisions to remain in the occupational field for which they were trained. In addition to the size of wage increases and the time interval in which they were earned, studies should also reveal the bases for wage increases. There is some reason to conclude that paraprofessionals are paid an equal entry wage and receive equal pay increases in any single agency despite differences in their jobs and in the quality of performance. As against this reported practice, there are questions as to how individual performance and the acquisition of educational and other credentials are evaluated and reflected in wage increases.

: Job stability, which may be measured as a turnover rate or more simply as the number of voluntary and involuntary terminations. Clearly, one would also wish to know the reasons for and the consequences of job terminations for the paraprofessionals involved. However, job stability, in fact, may simply be a function of the paraprofessional's perception that there are no better opportunities for employment elsewhere. Thus, in respect to the issue of job stability, research designs should incorporate analyses of feelings of job satisfaction and job security as well.

: Lateral mobility. Presumably, one of the objectives of new careers programs is to maximize the opportunity for paraprofessionals to move from one job to another with the same or different human service fields. By this means, it is hoped to contribute to the paraprofessionals' employment security and the maintenance of his non-poverty status. Thus study designs should include measurements of horizontal job mobility of paraprofessionals, whether this occurs within the same or different agencies and fields and whether it involves the same or different sets of job responsibilities. Reasons for such movement as well as its outcome (for wages, job satisfaction, etc.) should also be probed. These data should be supplemented by inquiries into the perceptions of paraprofessionals (regarding opportunities for lateral movement), then attitudes towards their present job, and the strength of their desire for a job with a different employer. In connection with the issue of lateral mobility, study designs might well incorporate an analysis of the multiplicity of paraprofessional job titles and job descriptions in human services. The presumed absence of standards and of uniform ways of establishing job equivalencies among different agencies impede lateral mobility to the disadvantage of the paraprofessional.

: Commitment to the human service field or occupation. Transcending many of the research issues discussed previously are questions related to the paraprofessional's attitudes towards and commitment to the human service field or occupation for which he was trained. This commitment provides him with an important identity, motivates him towards further self-development, aids his performance on the job, and distinguishes his present employment from that of just another job. Whether and to what extent the new careers program has been successful in developing this commitment among paraprofessionals and the degree to which the anticipated attitudinal and behavioral consequences follow should be subject to intensive analysis. Commitment to human services may have a cause and effect relationship to such other new careers objectives as career advancement, wage increases and employment security.

: Improvement in work performance. Even if the new careers program fails to achieve its objectives for many participants, it may still contribute to the clarification of their occupational goals, their ability to pursue them and ultimately to their job performance. Undoubtedly many new careers trainees will choose after varying periods of time not to remain as paraprofessionals in human service fields and seek other forms of employment. The question is whether their experience in the new careers program has contributed anything of value to their new enterprise. While the program does not attempt to justify its support on this basis, it is an important consideration which, if fully realized, may aid some former new careerists to escape from poverty through other routes.

Measurement of these program outcomes at some appropriate point during employment of a sample of new careerists when compared with relevant baseline data should yield a significant picture of aggregate change. For maximum utility to program planners these data need to be further refined and, through appropriate statistical techniques, differentially related to the program or system influences which affected them. For example, the program planner will wish to know not only what employment-related changes occurred, but which of the new careerists revealed what types of changes (or none at all), and which of the many programmed experiences were influential in producing the perceived effects. Of course, he will also wish to know which program components played an insignificant role in determining the measured outcomes.

It is assumed that the broader question concerning the extent to which the measured outcomes are a consequence of the new careers program or of other influences is an essential prior step in the task of attributing the refined results to various program and non-program influences. The use of control or comparison groups are intended to facilitate this determination. In a sense, therefore, the next steps involve various types of data analysis in order to explain perceived program outcomes or lack of them.

The explanatory variables or influences are manifold, even if confined only to the new careers program. A number of the major influences are selected for brief comment below. But it is worth noting again that research designs and procedures should be flexibly constructed so that non-program influences and events can be detected and studied for their effects on program outcomes.

: Personal characteristics of new careerists. This broad category of influences will serve to refine and to explain perceived changes. It is obviously safe to assume that the program will not have an equal impact on all participants. Inevitably, it is going to be more effective with some than with others, and those who have been affected will be changed in different ways and degrees. The task, then, is to identify those who have been influences by the program, how and to what degree, and who has not. Clearly, such data are essential in modifying the program system to ensure that its potential effects are fully realized among the largest number of participants.* The variables which may be employed to distinguish the program outcomes among participants run the gamut from sex, age, education, family status and relationships to prior work experience to a battery of psychological factors.

: Human Service fields, agency and occupation types. Manifestly new career objectives are likely to be more easily achieved in some human service fields, agencies and occupations than others. Each present different sets of needs, problems and obstacles. Some fields, agencies and occupations are experienced in working with paraprofessionals prior to the inception of the new careers program, others are not. Some are old and well established, while others are in the process of development. They vary in their needs for manpower, in the effectiveness of their services, and in their recognition of the need for change in their service delivery systems. These differences have been described in broad terms. While obviously significant in determining program outcomes, they may in fact rank behind such specific variables as the type of career ladders established for paraprofessionals, the nature of agencies personnel policies, the influence of supervisors, the availability of in-service training and educational programs, and others.

: Career Ladders and Personnel Policies. In many ways the design of career ladders and the development of job description and personnel policies which meet the service goals of the agency and the needs and capabilities of new careerists are among the most difficult of the many new careers program planning tasks. They may also be among the most influential factors in determining employment-related effects on paraprofessionals. These are also the activity areas in which many resistances are manifested to the new careers programs from budgetary restrictions, and from management, professionals and other staff, from civil service regulations, and unions. The manner in which these influences function to retard or enhance the achievement of program objectives need to be clearly identified and analyzed. But their influence should be understood in relation to the structure of career ladders in different human service fields and agencies. Our interest might focus on the definition of individual levels or rungs on a job ladder -- for example, in terms of job descriptions -- and the spacing between the laddered levels. An integral aspect of this issue consists of agencies' personnel policies which in effect control movement up the ladder. In sum, the character of existing career ladders and associated personnel policies determine the types and amount of opportunity for upward and lateral movement available to paraprofessionals. The NCEY study previously quoted regarded these factors as critically important.* The specific research issues associated with these variables are profuse indeed. They are abundantly represented in the interviews conducted and the literature reviewed in this study, reflecting the major concern of the effects for the crucial role of career ladders and personnel policies in the achievement of new career objectives.

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* In many instances, perhaps in most, follow-up explanatory studies may be needed to uncover in greater depth the problems, needs, etc. of those with whom the program has not been fully successful.

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* National Committee on Employment of Youth, 'Where Do We Go from Here?" December 1969. See especially Chapter 3.

: Training and Educational Programs. There is an increasingly accepted hypothesis that, "When agencies provide only limited opportunities for advancement, there is little motivation for continuing in-service training" - i.e., beyond the initial period of job orientation.* This statement might well apply to training outside of the agency and to opportunities to study for an associate of arts degree. Certainly this is a credible assumption. Increasingly one hears that the new careers program has stalled at entry level jobs, that budgets required for promotion and higher salaries have not been made available. Analysis of the character of career ladders and personnel practices and of the forces that influence them was provided in the previous paragraph. It is essential, of course, to know how pervasive this condition really is. But to the extent that it does exist, it largely obviates analysis of the impact of training and educational programs. There are exceptions, however. Some interest may be generated, for example, in those few paraprofessionals who somehow manage to achieve promotion even in closed systems which do not make training and educational opportunities available. Or, some agencies may have highly selective rather than open policies on those who will be permitted to participate in training and educational programs. This situation presents some opportunity to gauge the impact of participation in these programs upon the achievement of employment related objectives by paraprofessionals. However, this is an obviously biased situation. Clearly, the best situation for analysis is one in which there is a relatively open ladder and relatively easy though optional access both to further training and to education. It is possible here to ascertain the relative contribution of training and education programs to career advancement and other employment-related effects by analyzing groups of paraprofessionals who do and do not participate. After all is said and done, however, one suspects that where agencies have a reasonably open and well-articulated opportunity structure and where training and educational programs are comparatively available, the successful completion of these programs by definition contribute to career advancement.

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* Ibid, p. 6

: Relationships to Supervisors, Professionals and Other Agency Staff. It is generally assumed that the manner in which new careerists are integrated into the total agency and the degree to which integration is successful will be influential in their achievement of employment-related objectives. At one level, analyses should reveal whether there is any significant impact on these objectives of formally established provisions for integrating new careerists into an agency (*e.g.*, through the "buddy system") and of organizing a service delivery system through a "team approach" which functionally incorporates the new careerists. At the informal level interest tends to center on the quality of the interaction between professionals and other non-professionals on the one hand and new careerists on the other. The attitudes of the former towards the latter have been described as often hostile, resentful and fearful. In turn, some new careerists are said to be scornful of professional competence and to adopt a superior air in relation to other non-professionals. Concern for such intra-staff friction and dissension was widespread in every phase of this study. While it is often assumed that such conditions retard the achievement of employment-related benefits for new careerists, this proposition remains to be empirically verified. Staff tensions may in fact have the opposite effect. Some observers maintain that what is most important is the racial and ethnic mix of old-line professional and non-professional staffs and new careerists. This assertion too can be tested through analysis of study data. For obvious reasons, it has often been assumed that the role of the supervisor is critical not only in relation to the employee's or the new careerist's job performance and stability but to his work attitudes and, ultimately to his upward mobility. At the same time much of the literature and many of the respondents interviewed in this study referred to the need for improvement in the quality of supervision primarily through training programs. However, the specific contribution of supervisors, particularly in relation to other influences has yet to be empirically established. The NCEY study found their contributions to be rather minimal in agencies whose structures provided little opportunity for upward mobility.* The data of this projected study should be employed to determine the effects of different types of supervisors on the mobility patterns and other employment-related effects of new careerists.

: Influence of Civil Service, Professional Standards and Unions. Reference has been made earlier to the influence of these factors on career ladders, and the personnel policies of agencies employing new careerists. In particular, civil service job classifications and regulations, and the activities of professional organizations and prevailing professional standards are frequently mentioned obstacles to the achievement of new careers program objectives. As a consequence each merits a comprehensive analysis of its impact on the role of new careerists. For example, how and to what degree does the role of new careerists and the activities of employment-related benefits vary among public agencies in which civil service systems are more and less tractable to the employment of new careerists. On the whole, how do agencies which are not governed by civil service compare with those which are? Are intractable civil service systems a genuine impediment to the achievement of employment-related objectives or are they simply a mask for the operation of more basic negative factors? Similar questions should be asked of the impact of professional associations and standards and of union activities. In situations where these factors constitute a basic and significant handicap to the achievement of program objectives, comparative studies may be required to explain fully precisely how and why their negative influence is manifested.

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* Ibid, Chapter 7

This portion of the discussion may be concluded with a brief reference to the significance of the age factor in new careers programs. In the Scheuer amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act the target population was defined as persons 22 years of age and older. Subsequently, this eligibility requirement was modified and new careers programs have accepted persons under this age. The incorporation of youth raises many questions subject to clarification through research. They relate largely to the applicability of the new careers approach to youth and to the assumption that they can contribute to human services and maintain an interest in these occupations and fields. It is possible that youths are more capable of contributing to and have greater interest in some occupations and fields than others. In any case, it is necessary to determine their specific training problems and capabilities (which are likely to be different than those who are older and further removed from formal learning experience), whether established curricula in human service fields are appropriate for youth, and whether such curricula may be incorporated in high school programs.

Thus, the questions raised broadly inquire into the potential of youth to derive benefits from the program and to contribute to the improvement of human services. In the context of this discussion, it is suggested that research should explore the program outcomes related to the participation of youth in terms of their career progress and their contributions to institutional change and improvements in human services. Thus, the age factor should be stressed in the construction of samples and design of studies discussed throughout this entire volume. On the other hand, it may be appropriately handled as a major research issue for the purpose of separate and more extensive analysis.

2. Non-Employment Related Outcomes

Unquestionably, the new careers program is potentially capable of affecting participants in many areas of life - as family members, friends and citizens. In general, such effects are likely to be among the consequences of significant change in the employment status of individuals. Although they are not the primary or direct objectives of new careers and other work-training programs, they too may have important long-lasting effects. A responsible approach to the evaluation of new careers programs should attempt to identify and assess their broader and often unanticipated outcomes.

On the other hand, it is apparent that the consequences of the new careers program for its participants at work, in the family or in the community, reflect a tangle of influences which is difficult to unravel. For example, the pattern of effects may be mutually supportive, so that the full realization of potential program benefits at work for many new careerists may require changes at home and in leisure time activities. On the other hand, it may be that visible program impact upon the non-work activities of new careerists as a whole emerge only in those agencies in which significant work-related objectives are achieved. There is a manifest need for careful and detailed analysis not only of the emergence of non-work related effects of the new careers program but how, if at all, they are related to its work-related benefits.

While the approach to the research design and methodology previously described applies also to the identification and assessment of non-employment related objectives, one or two comments are in order. It is apparent that non-work situations are susceptible to an array of influences which are many times broader than those present in the job. The impact of new public policies, the continuing drive for community participation and control, changes in education and other institutional practices, and other, perhaps purely localized events may affect the non-work situations of people (including new careerists) more directly and vitally than their employment conditions. Researchers, therefore, should be especially sensitive to these borader forces in interpreting the findings from their control and experimental groups.

Lastly, it is worth repeating that where feasible it will be particularly useful to develop control or comparison groups of individuals who are not only employed at comparable wage levels to new careerists, but whose employment has resulted from training in other manpower training programs. This approach will prove helpful in determining whether perceived non-work effects are the results of improved employment conditions generally or of other manpower training and employment programs as well or whether they are in some sense unique to new careers programs. The possibility that a series of work and non-work-related outcomes are not unique to the new careers program does not by any means devalue it. On the other hand, knowledge of what is unique about its outcomes for participants will aid planners in developing realistic prospectives in their efforts to improve the program.

Clearly, non-work-related outcomes may be sought in many different areas. A few are suggestively discussed below. As in the earlier discussion of work-related outcomes, research studies will first have to establish that change has occurred, then describe such changes as they are perceived and explain them in relation to specific influences of the new careers program and of other forces.

: Family life. In a multitude of ways program influences upon new careerists are likely to be experienced intiially in the home. Increased income, steady employment, greater prestige associated with the new job, and the prospect of future occupational progress are among the factors which may alter many established patterns of behavior and attitude among family members. The tendency, of course, is to assume that all such changes are likely in some fashion to be positive or favorable. This is not necessarily the case at all. All too frequently the reverse is true. Analyses are essential of the extent to which negative family impacts occur as a consequence of participation in new careers programs, their specific nature and consequences and the conditions under which they occur. With such findings in hand program planners may be able to devise the means, perhaps through various forms of supportive services, to reduce the frequency and severity of those negative outcomes.

: Political and other attitudes. By virtue of the nature of much of their job training and subsequent experiences, new careerists are likely to acquire new attitudes as well as a new body of knowledge and job skills. In part, this may involve a new awareness and new postures not only to things around them but towards themselves as well. Although such attitudes are intended to contribute to job competence, it would be surprising if they were not carried over into other areas of life. At the very least, one may expect changes in new careerists' self-image, outlook on the future, increased expectations for their children, new views of their neighborhoods and living conditions, different attitudes towards the quality and problems of various social services and in other areas as well.... But, considerable interest centers on the type and extent of changes in political attitudes. The experience of being part of "the system," perhaps for the first time in their lives, is assumed to be a strong impetus for change in the political beliefs of many new careerists. Some, it is held, who entered the program with comparatively radical beliefs will become more establishment-minded, Others will become more radical or adopt a radical posture where it did not exist before. Of course, it is not known whether the new careers program has any effect at all in the formulation and change of political attitudes, or if it has, how strong an influence it is. Nor is it known which new careerists are most susceptible to change; which towards more conservative and which towards more radical views. The issue is of more than passing interest not only because one may assume that such changes may affect job performance but because they are likely to be reflected in various ways in community affairs.

: Participation in Community Activities. For many of the same reasons noted in the previous and earlier paragraphs, involvement in the new careers program may result in more active participation by new careerists in various types of community affairs. These may range from local P.T.A.'s to militant social and political action groups. However, it is not necessary to assume that radicalization of political attitudes is an essential precondition for greater community participation. For some, this may well be true. Other reasons may impel some new careerists to join various community ventures, only to find these activities more influential than the new careers program in radicalizing or otherwise changing their political views. For this purpose, the analysis does not have to assume a direct causal relationship between significant changes in political attitudes and participation in community affairs. However, the analysis should attempt to determine the degree to which changes in political attitude precede and follow from participation in community affairs. In short, research should establish the many patterns of relationship between the new careers program, and changes in political beliefs and participation in community affairs. The NCEY study suggests another particularly interesting line of analysis. It claims that,

> "In agencies where opportunities were limited to the entry level of with no access to higher level jobs, the drive towards community control was found to be presenting alternative opportunities for advancement. The thrust towards decentralization and community control in many services has increased opportunities to politicize situations and to fill political vacuums. For community residents and paraprofessionals there are political situations to be jockeyed for." *

Whether blacks and ghetto dwellers are more likely than whites and non-ghetto residents to change in the direction of greater participation is still another relevant and interesting question. In sum, the analysis should reveal the extent to which the new careers program serves to motivate its participants to take a more active role in community affairs.

: Free-Time Activities. The greater participation of some number of new careerists in community affairs will help in some measure to explain the impact of the new careers program on their use of free or

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* Ibid, Chapter 9, p.3

non-working time. Potentially, program outcomes can be made more extensive and of considerable significance to new careerists in terms of their jobs, self-development, family relationships and the like. For example, whether job-related or not, formal and informal educational activities may increase. There may be an increase in the frequency of recreational activities engaged in by the family as a unit and a corresponding decrease in recreational activities pursued by new careerists as individuals. Friendship patterns may be changed to reflect new interests, to avoid compromising a newly developed image, or possible avoid any possible entanglement in illegal acitivites. At one extreme the changes may be sufficient to suggest the emergence of a new style of life, which has the potential of significant multiplier effects for others.

Impact on Human Service Agencies

In the last analysis, new careers programs do not seek to obtain a series of benefits only for their participants. This objective is of immense value to be sure, but it is one which can be considered both as an end in itself and as a means to the achievement of other ultimate program objectives. Thus, the establishment of new careers programs entailing the complete integration of new careerists into agencies' structures and the availability to them or career advancement, job stability and other benefits, is viewed as essential to the achievement of basic changes in the agencies themselves. In turn, this objective may be regarded as instrumental for the attainment of needed improvements in services provided by the agencies. In concept, therefore, there are clear, functional relationships among these objectives which are less chain-like in character than they are circular.

The term "institutional change" is popularly employed in describing what are presumed to be requirements for agency change. It is neither a very clear nor specific term. Nonetheless, it continues to be stressed in many quarters as an absolutely essential condition for vitally needed improvements in client services. Its origins lie in the observable failures of many human services, agencies and institutions. Manifestly, for the purposes of this discussion, agency or institutional change must be specifically associated with the inception and operation of the new careers program. Although research designs will have to identify precisely what is to be understood as institutional change and the criteria by which it will be measured, it is clear that the changes envisaged by most protagonists of the program go far beyond the simple introduction of paraprofessionals or new careerists into existing agencies. It is time, of course, that adding a new layer or series of layers of new careerists at the bottom of agencies' present tables of organization constitutes an important kind of institutional change. Unless this step leads to or is accompanied by other significant change, the effort is conceeded to be a failure. Indeed, many experts interviewed in this study are extreemly pessimistic about the capability of the new careers program to effect what they regard as essential institutional change. But the matter should be subject to empirical analysis.

The question is in what areas should changes of what types be sought in order to satisfy the rhetoric or theory of new careers programs? Before responding, a critical caveat of vital concern to researchers should be noted. In many respects the new careers program can be regarded as a major aspect of the drive for greater local participation in or control of service agencies. Still, the two are not the same. Thus, it is possible to conceive of community pressure forcing significant institutional change upon agencies which have no new careers programs. The jobs that may be opened to community residents as a result of this pressure may not be paraprofessional positions at all, but regular entry level jobs. By the same token, other agencies which have established new careers programs may also be subject to community pressure for other institutional changes. If there are similar pressures from new careerists employed by these agencies, there may be some difficulty in distinguishing the relative effectiveness of each of these forces. While the problem of recognizing the competency and often identical interest of local community activities vis-a-vis service agencies is important, it should not present insuperable research problems.

A brief description follows of the areas of agency activity and organization in which institutional change attributable to the influence of new careers programs should be sought. What should be uncovered for empirical examination are changes accomplished or agency initiated activities intended to lead to change.

: Agency Goals. Changes in agencies' goal definitions or in their priorities may encompass new needs which should be met or expansion or contractiom of goal definitions to improve the quality and quantity of services. Changes in definitions of the eligible population or the geographic area to be served should also be included.

: Agency Services. Changes in agency goals do not inevitably pressage changes in services. Outmoded goal statements may simple be redefined to reflect current practices. The opposite is also true: changes in services may be instituted to enable an agency to better achieve its established goals. However, in many instances there will be a direct relationship between the two. What should be looked for is a series of possible changes including changes in strategy (e.g., from a clinically oriented approach to the emotional problems of clients to an approach which seeks to open new opportunities in employment, housing and other institutional areas for needy clients), as well as in methods and techniques in such areas as recruitment, intake and follow-up. Researchers need to be alert not only to changes in agencies' service patterns but to changes which stem from new or expanded functions of professionals which have been made possible by employment of new careerists.

: Decision-Making. The processes by means of which decisions are made to change an agency's goals, strategies and service delivery methods, structure, et al, are also vital areas of potential institutional change. What is of critical concern here is whether these processes are changed to enable new careerists to participate in a variety of decisions ranging from agency policy to daily operational problems. In some instances agencies may be persuaded to add community or client representatives to boards and other policy-making groups.

: Agency Structure. The structure and personnel policies of an agency from its board to its lowest skilled employee, encluding its job classifications and description, organization, standards for promotion, training and educational services, et al, represent other major areas of institutional change. Of necessity, the analysis should focus on structural changes involving professionals and other agency employees as well as on new careerists. These areas were amply discussed in a previous section in relation to their affects on career advancement and other employment-related program outcomes for new carrerists. The orientation here, of course, is towards institutional change which is likely to enhance client services. In this regard, the structural areas listed present opportunities for testing many important, but hypothetical relationships. For example, it is often maintained that the new careers program is more likely to affect institutional change in those agencies in which new careerists have a face-to-face relationship with clients than in those in which the interaction is less direct. The same is said to apply in agencies which integrate new careerists into a team of other paraprofessionasl. Ultimately, it should be possible to discern through analysis the types of structural changes which are most closely associated with the greatest employment related outcomes for new careerists and improved services for clients.

Measurement and explanation of institutional change can be incorporated into research designs described earlier in this volume.* That is, a longitudinal design employing comparison groups of new careerists and others can be employed in the study of institutional change as long as the example contains agencies representative of different fields of service, auspices and size. It is also desirable to include agencies which employ varying mumbers of new careerists since it is often assumed that the smaller their number the easier it is for an agency to neutralize their presumed pressure for change. In addition, the sample of agencies should include those which offer specialized services and those which offer multiple services. Lastly, agencies which are newly established and those which are long established should also be included.

It appears, therefore, that for the purpose of an intensive and complete analysis of institutional change, it may be difficult to construct a sample which would be optimum for the purpose of evaluating program outcomes upon both the new careerists and the agencies which employ them. It can be done if sufficient resources are available or if the scope of evaluation is limited to one or to just a few service fields. An alternative design for studying institutional change would emphasize selection of an adequate sample of agencies, in terms specified in the preceeding paragraph, taking care to include a comparison group of agencies which have not instituted a new careers program. This desing, would permit various types of analyses of employee-related program outcomes as a by-product of its major concern with institutional change.

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*See section entitled, "A Methodological Note," p.III - 6.

Impact on Clients of Human Services Agencies

The most important and unique contribution of the new careers programs in the opinion of many of its advocates is its potential for enhancing the services provided by human service agencies. Institutional change is regarded as meaningless if considered apart from this objective. While improvement in the employment and other conditions of new careerists is acceptable as a program value of significance, it will be regarded as insufficient unless related to improvements in the ability of agencies to meet clients' needs. The new careers program is not seen as just another manpower training and employemnt effort. However, many believe that the employment of new careerists, their involvement in the decision-making processes of agencies, and other institutional changes are essential changes required to meet clients' needs. There are instrumentalities for improving the agencies' capabilities for communicating with and understanding its clients, for holding agencies accountable for the effectiveness of their services, for maximizing the efficiency of human service agencies, and for achieving other essential conditions necessary for improvement in client services.

"More of the same" inadequate services offered to larger numbers of clients is also not acceptable. The human service agency which is now providing high quality services is a rarity in the view of observers. Hence, emphasis is placed on achieving necessary changes in the quality of services through the new careers programs. Clearly, however, what are to be regarded as relevant types of client outcomes and whether and how these are to be judged as changes of greater or lesser quality are questions that can be resolved only within the design process of each study.

The detection and measurement of qualitative changes in clients' needs and conditions are very often trying tasks of long duration, to say nothing of the problem of isolating the factors responsible for the changes. The problems involved are manifold. Many significant changes are often, I believe, lying well below the level of perception, and slow to develop. They may be evanescent or permanent, terminal or triggers for other effects which should also be measured though largely unanticipated by the program design. Many changes, whether behavioral or attitudinal, are likely to escape detection and measurement.

Nevertheless, the situation is far from hopeless. Many changes are observable and a great deal can be learned from their analysis. Their study is likely first of all to require time. It will also require a battery of research methods - various types of tests, questionnaires and methods of observation. Data should be obtained from clients, service agency staff and significant others. Wherever possible, measurements of attitudes and behavior should be direct, rather than through intermediaries commenting on possible changes in the subjects.

An approach which is frankly experimental in a number of respects is particularly needed and appropriate for the study of client outcomes. At one level experimental efforts should be encouraged to refine existing methods of measuring change in attitudes and behavior and to devise new means entirely. At another level encouragement should be given to experimental or controlled studies of the effects upon clients of variations in agency goals, treatment modalities, structures, auspices, etc., through the new careers program and apart from it. While these studies may take different forms, their designs should provide for longitudinal analyses and the use of control and comparison groups.

The designs fo studies which attempt to assess the impact of new careers programs on client services must incorporate a sizeable number of questions which have immediate planning and operational significance. Apart from the broad question of the effectiveness of the program for this purpose guidance will be sought for the most effective ways of deploying new careerists to achieve maximum improvements in client services; of assessing the validity of the implicit assumption that greater benefits to new careerists are associated with enhanced services to clients; of determining those conceptual methodological and structural changes, beyond the introduction of the new careers program, which are most closely associated with improved client outcomes; and of ascertaining the extent to which community pressures for improved services as distinct from the new careers program are effective in producing such services.

For the most part the discussion has skirted an important distinction which must be considered by research designers. On the one hand the distinction relates to those client needs and conditions which agencies officially recognize in their goal statements and to which their service programs are somehow addressed. On the other hand, often there are many needs which are neither formally acknowledged nor addressed in any manner. To the degree that new careers programs are fully effective it is assumed that they will facilitate greater achievement of agency goals, and that they will be the instrumentality to accomplish a redefinition of agencies' goals to take account of the previously unmet needs of clients. It is assumed that the latter type of institutional change will also yield improved services to clients through the operation of the multifaceted new careers program.

In view of the many difficult methodological problems involved in evaluating the impact of new careers programs on the clients of human service agencies, it would seem most advisable to conduct separate studies on this problem. Of course, they may be incorporated into the impact studies previously discussed (on new careerists and institutional change). Sampling and other design considerations involved in studies of each program objective are quire compatible. One may even achieve certain economies by combining evaluation of these three program objectives into a single study. However, each is a major effort in its own right suggesting that such all inclusive research designs are likely to be unweildy and to entail inevitable compromises in data collection and analysis. The results are likely to involve significant loss of comprehensiveness and depth in the studies' findings and conclusions. They are likely, therefore to be less than maximally useful in the planning and operation of new carrers programs.

Impact on Human Service Professions

In the considerable amount of discussion and controversy generated within the few short years of the new careers programs, there is some evidence, however soft, for the belief that these programs have produced effects which ramify well beyond the boundaries of local agencies. They appear in some measure to have influenced the thinking and the activities of people and agencies from local communities to the federal government. While all such multiplier effects have not yet been identified, let alone studied, it is reasonable to presume that one area in which such effects are likely to be manifested includes the human services professions themselves.

This assumption is based on more than the large amount of controversy which has developed in professional circles with the introduction of the new careers program. It reflects a number of cardinal principles which are central to the rhetoric of new careers programs. Two of these seem to be particularly crucial to the program concept, serving to justify it and to "sell" it. The first relates to verifiable shortages of professional personnel in many human service fields. It is assumed, consequently, that such shortages may be relieved by job restructuring so that various generalist tasks requiring less skill, knowledge and experience may be abstracted from professional positions and redesigned as jobs for paraprofessionals. In a sense this measure alone is believed to contribute to improvement in agencies' services by adding critically needed manpower resources and permitting greater conservation of professionals' time and attention to more specialized tasks. The second assumption, however, carries this proposition further. It involves the belief that the paraprofessional can in fact perform certain types of functions better than the professional. This is especially the case where the agencies' clients are drawn from the impoverished sections of the population. In these instances, paraprofessionals are said to have a better understanding of clients' needs and behavior patterns and a greater ability to communicate with and to supply information to needy clients than middle-class oriented professionals. These capabilities drawn from the life experiences of paraprofessionals should be reflected in more effective performance by paraprofessionals in selected types of essential human service tasks. The corollary of this proposition holds that the paraprofessional is more dedicated or more closely oriented to the needs of clients and to the welfare of the local community than the professional whose dedication to clients is divided by his allegiance to abstract professional standards, values and associations.

The issues and arguments involved here are very real and very complex. Whether and how they are resolved are likely to have a broad and significant range of consequences for the various fields of human services. As an object of empirical study the impact of new careers programs on human service professions may be designed to focus attention on program outcomes (a) within local agencies and (b) within broader but related agencies. Studies of local agencies present a much needed opportunity to test the assumptions described in the previous paragraph. Studies of related agencies should seek to assess the effects of new careers programs on broader professional goals, concepts, service methodologies, values, standards, and on eligibility requirements for membership in professional associations. Changes in professional education and in types of personnel recruited into the profession are also important aspects of this study. There is lastly the matter of relating the changes in thought and action occurring in these two spheres to each other. It should, for example, be determined whether and in what respects the changes in the performance and attitudes of professionals in local agencies are channeled into and reflected in the policies and practices adopted by professional associations. Interest also centers on the extent and the manner in which professional associations influence or retard changes in local agencies. But research may reveal that there really is no effective relationship between the two at all.

Obviously, the character of program outcomes, if any, will vary with the field of human service studied, the type and size of the agencies and a host of other factors. Here too the design of this study is generally compatible with those of the previous studies discussed, although provision should be made for intensive data collection among professional associations, relevant government agencies, private foundations and various educational and training institutions. It is possible, therefore, to graft this study on to the others or to conduct it independently. The decision will be determined by anticipated uses of the study's findings, the conceptions of the research problems involved, and the time and financial resources available.

In the study of human service professions as in other studies discussed in this volume, efforts should be made to disentangle the influence of new careers programs from that of the drive for community participation and control. In some respects the task is more difficult here than elsewhere because the locus of concern is not confined to local agencies and communities, and is for that reason less subject to control through research designs. In many human service fields, for example, there is only one professional association which is likely to be subject to multiple influences focused around new concepts of community involvement including the new careers programs. To the extent that the association considers of professionalism, on the role of professionals and on similar issues, it may be responding to an integrated configuration of influences rather than to individual stimuli. Consequently, it is hazardous to assume at the outset that the specific impacts of the new careers program *per se* can be pieced out of the whole and assessed. The extent and the manner in which it should be done can best be determined by exploratory studies preliminary to the development of the research design. Regardless of the methodological difficulties involved, the effort is worth the cost for there is much to be learned.

In sum, studies designed to measure and explain the effects of new careers programs on human service professionals should at a minimum attempt (a) to determine the extent to which the programs do in fact compensate for shortages in professional manpower; (b) to assess the processes and products of job restructuring; and (c) to ascertain whether the poor in contrast with the professional does possess certain inherent capabilities for relating to needy clients which are reflected in superior performance in selected tasks. Some of the specific and interrelated areas for investigation within local agencies should include -

: Changes in the roles of professionals. These changes should be carefully described, particularly in relation to newly created roles for new careerists. In this regard, it is of more than passing interest to determine the bases on which tasks and functions are classified as professional or paraprofessional. Their thrust or rationale should be explained, though different staff members may have different perceptions of the reasons for change. Comparisons should be drawn between old and new professional tasks and assessments should be made concerning such questions as the direction of change (e.g., have the jobs of professionals been upgraded, downgraded or unaffectec in terms of knowledge and skill requirements?), the capabilities and readiness of professionals to undertake new roles, the consequences for recruitment, selection and training, or new professional staff, and the effects on professionals' salaries and on other personnel policies and practices related to professional staff.

: Changes in Concepts of Professionalism. Change in role definition may be closely related to new concepts of professionalism, but not inevitably so. Theoretically the latter embraces many elements in addition to role definition, e.g., eligibility requirements (which may include minimal levels of training and/or experience, and licensing or other formal requirements), approved goals, practices, standards or performance and personal conduct. In reality, however, many human service professions function with vague or fluid conceptions of professionalism which varies greatly from agency to agency and with relatively little control exercised by any central professional group or legal authority. This obviously presents some complex problems for research. Nevertheless, it is possible and essential to describe or characterize existing concepts of professionalism and to determine the extent and direction of change. For example, it is a rather commonplace observation that changes are occurring in many human service professions under the impact of new careers programs and the drive for community control. Established professionals are accused of being detached, paternalistic, or of acting as "colonial administrators." Demands are being made that loyalty to professional principles, objectivity, and dispassionate modes of professional behavior should be replaced by commitment and responsiveness to local communities and their needs, by emotional and behavioral as well as intellectual involvement with clients, and by advocacy of their interests before the establishment. How far these new conceptions of professionalism have actually taken hold, in which fields, agencies and professions and with what apparent consequences are proper questions for empirical investigation.

: Attitudes of Professionals. The reactions fo professionals as a group to changes or to proposals for change in their job definitions and in their professional orientations, to the new careers program and to demands for community participation and control are matters of significant import. They are likely to have critical consequences not only for the success of new careers programs, but for potential improvements in human services generally. It is certainly fair to assume that the concepts and activities released by the new careers program as well as the emphasis on local community service have raised vital questions among professionals, challenged established principles and produced critical self-examination among professionals. Are they responding with feelings of anxiety or are they hopeful? Do they view new careerists as "clients," as their potential replacements, as a means of reducing costs and salaries, or do they see new careerists as partners who can bring a new and needed dimension to the service program? Similarly, do they believe that commitment to the community, to an advocacy role and to the full participation of the community in agency activities are essential to the improvement of human services...One would also wish to know whether these attitudes and beliefs change with time and experience, and whether such changes are subject to general and explainable processes and patterns.

: Changes in Professional Performance. Analysis of the attitudes, beliefs and postures of professionals are important for what they can reveal about their potential behavior. While these subjective states are uncertain predictions of behavior in combination with other motivational, situational and cultural considerations, they have an important bearing on actual job performance or behavior. Proposed studies in this area should attempt to identify the various predictors of professional performance. Emphasis, however, should be focused on the measurements and explanation of change in the job performance of professionals. It is important, therefore, to describe and to rate the performance of professionals before and after the introduction of a new careers program. Are professionals generally performing new tasks or devoting more time and attention to certain previously assigned tasks? Are they now employing specialized knowledge and skills which they has little or no opportunity to use in the past? Has performance improved in quantitative and qualitative terms? Or, has absenteeism, tardiness, turn-over and other indicators of poor morale increased?...A second area of critical concern involves a comparison between professionals and new careerists in respect to tasks previously assigned to professionals but which are now performed by new careerists. These are likely to be generalist tasks for which training is relatively simple, e.g., recruitment and intake. Comparisons of the quantitative and qualitative performance of new careerists will have to proceed in relation to what is found in each agency. However, efforts should be made to compare the performance of new careerists in a range of tasks with that of professionals classified by educational attainment and years of experience. Probably the greatest interest centers on comparisons between new careerists and young, middle-class, bachelor's degree individuals who are newly hired for their first so-called professional position. There are indications that in some agencies the two are often assigned to similar functions, which when coupled with disparities in salary help to create dissatisfaction among the new careerists. Their job strengths and weaknesses and the outcomes of their performance for client services should also be probed...The formal and informal relationships between professionals and new careerists are of profound and apparent concern to program administrators. As may be expected reports of the character of these interactions vary from the supportive to the hostile bordering on sabotage of the program. Relationships between the groups, particularly those which are antagonistic, are said to be entangled with racial and class differences. There is a need consequently to describe the nature of the relationships between new careerists and professionals in formal and informal settings and to identify the influences which make for positive and negative interactions between the two groups.

Anticipated variations in the roles of professionals, in their concepts of professionalism, attitudes and performance and in the policies and practices of professional associations, institutions of higher education and similar organizations can be explained by a number of commonly used factors including field of service, type and size of agency. However, there is considerable interest in the differences among agencies which provide professionals with opportunities for upward mobility through in-service training programs, support for graduate or advanced training and similar measures. The interesting nevertheless. Another factor which many believe is also significant in explaining agency variations is the absence or presence of outreach functions; for example, in schools or correctional institutions in contrast to neighborhood and community service centers. It is implicitly assumed that outreach functions tend to stress the role of new careerists, to make them more central and viable and, consequently, to have greater impact on all aspects of professional activities.

The major studies recommended in this volume are closely interrelated, creating the possibility of telescoping significant aspects of each into a single research design. While this has the advantage of breadth of coverage, it presents the disadvantages of shallowness and diffusion of effort. The overriding importance of evaluative studies argues forcefully against designs which sacrifice depth of findings in order to obtain inflated scope of effort.

Two of the studies in particular deserve high priority. First, the logic of the new careers program requires evaluation of the program's impact on client services. In the final analysis the program will justify itself primarily on the basis or, utlimately, it will be discarded. This appears to be recognized by program planners and operators. Thus, their insistence upon the need for widespread institutional change, and, in many respects, upon the establishment of maximum opportunity for upward occupational mobility for new careerists can be understood as essential conditions for the achievement of improved services.

Second, evaluation of the impact of new careers programs on the occupational status of its participants, particularly those who are poor, is also critically important. For many observers, the program's manpower and anti-poverty goals are paramount. In any event, current efforts to extend the program into various public service areas stress its potential contribution to the employment of the poor and to improvement in service.

Throughout this volume, institutional change has been treated largely as instrumental for the attainment of the employment and service objectives of the new careers program. In many ways, the program's impact on the structure, values and norms of human service professions may also be regarded as instrumental. It is very likely that research designs which seek to evaluate the program's impact on employment of the poor and on agencies' services will incorporate analyses of institutional and professional change as intermediate program objectives. However, support is needed for independent studies of how and under what conditions new careers programs chieve these intermediate program objectives. The findings of such studies would do much to enhance the effectiveness of the program's planning and operational activities.

VOLUME IV

Implications of the New Careers Program for the Field of Education

Prepared by: The Center for Social Policy
and Program Development
Graduate School of Social Work
New York University

The Field of Education

The field of education as Employer of Paraprofessional Workers represents many similar and different experiences in comparison with workers in other human service fields. There are actually three basic types of paraprofessionals within elementary and junior high schools, although currently they are not all involved in "released time" educational programs, leading to career ladder mobility. This study deals mainly with those paraprofessionals involved in instructional tasks within the classroom e.g. educational aides assistants and associates. A second type of paraprofessional with which we had less involvement are those new positions such as community aides serving in experimental programs. Only peripheral treatment is given the third type of paraprofessional - those employed in traditionally dead-end school jobs, such as cafeteria aides, etc.

This chapter will briefly cite areas where research efforts may be applied to planning and operation activities of New Careers educational projects to suit the needs of the trainees, children, parents, teachers, administrators, the school and the community.

It begins with identification of research which should be applied to planning for the use of the paraprofessionals within the schools, proceeds to a discussion concerned with designing the operation of a project focused upon the public schools and concludes with an analysis of problems of assessing the impact of the paraprofessionals within the school system upon various factors effected. New careers research questions as framed within this chapter will therefore generally follow the orientation of the first three volumes. However, within this chapter only specific issues which are crucial to public schools will be highlighted. The attention given to these issues does not negate that research undertakings recommended within the broader context of human services are not equally valuable when education is the user agency.

Activities associated with increased employment of paraprofessionals in public schools are proceeding simultaneously with other important educational trends some of which proclaim similar goals. Clearly paraprofessional developments are taking place within a changing educational system, while representing one of the significant instrumentalities of change.

Developments published in newspapers, professional journals and newsletters center upon three trends - all of which have implications for the design and implementation of paraprofessional programs.

These trends are:

- the increasing use of mechanical techniques for teaching such as closed-circuit television channels, programmed teaching machines and programmed text;
- the pressure toward public school desegregation;
- the trend toward community participation in the program and policy of public schools

Presently, progress in desegregation is proceeding slowly, and, by and large, the schools which are involved in this movement are not likely to try new approaches to education in the near future. The issue of desegregation will therefore be omitted from this discussion. The first and the third trends, however, must be included as a basis for research suggestions to aid the implementation of the new careers concept since they have direct implications for the selection and recruitment of the paraprofessionals, their use within the school system, their interaction with professionals, pupils and community, the types of career ladders developed and the direction and types of needed change. A paraprofessional training program within any school in which either of these trends is evidenced must emphasize the preparation of the paraprofessionals (as well as the professionals) to deal adequately with the emerging situation.

One of the principal target areas for exploration into the effects of community involvement upon paraprofessional programs is New York City, particularly the district surrounding IS 201 in Harlem and the experimental school district in Brooklyn.

Although existing community control practices in New York City cannot be considered typical of the country, it would be a serious error to undertake any research on paraprofessionals within public schools and neglect these areas. Further, the political influences upon the new careers program in these areas may be very different than in other schools districts, and the ramifications of which may be quite relevant to the development of the concept. That a series of analytic studies on these experimental districts should be set up is the least that can be recommended.

The typical objectives of New Careers Program in education include changing the role of the professional teacher to allow her to act at topmost capacity alleviating the shortages of professionally licensed teachers and increasing the learning of students.

Current Status of Paraprofessional Programs

In order to establish career mobility ladders for paraprofessionals within public educational institutions the current status of the program should first be reviewed. Therefore, one of the first research tasks to be undertaken is a descriptive survey of the roles that paraprofessional are currently performing within public schools.

The paraprofessional program within public schools has thus far been described or evaluated as it appears in specific experimental situations. The program in Minneapolis, Minnesota is an example of such an over-reported case. However, there is no data indicating that this is by any means a typical case. In fact, because of the amount of publicity given to it the chances are that it is quite extraordinary. It is important for future program implementation that more representative situations be included in any kind of descriptive analysis in order to provide a broader-based understanding of programmatic accomplishments and problems. In such studies, the research designs should provide for a diversity of social settings, size and type of paraprofessional work force.

Although it is a relatively simple matter to obtain a listing of federally funded educational paraprofessional programs such a list would eliminate a wide range of programs which may not be career oriented but have a potential in that direction.

A random sample of schools should be selected throughout the country, ensuring that all geographic areas are covered and that both rural and urban areas are included. Brief questionnaires should be sent to superintendants of school districts for purposes of compiling a descriptive account of the status of the program within public schools.

The questionnaires should seek reasonably objective data pertaining primarily to characteristics of paraprofessional staff deployment. Educational services provided by the paraprofessionals should be described by the school administrators. Inquiries should also be directed to the following items:

: Numbers of paraprofessionals employed

: The number of hours worked--per day/per week

: Hourly pay

" Ratio of paraprofessionals to pupils/teachers

: Deployment patterns

: Types of training provided--by whom?

: Titles given the paraprofessionals, job descriptions, etc.

At present, this type of survey will give specifics on the current status of the movement toward use of paraprofessionals in the school system.

Responses from school administrators will serve useful research purpose besides pure description. Once a national picture of the program is obtained it will aid efforts toward solving programmatic problems. Hypotheses can be formulated about predicted changes in the general and local pictures. This information may also be fed into a data bank to aid in sample selection for specific experimental studies on which to base conclusions regarding optimal patterns of utilization for particular situations.

One of the reasons why aides who are to work within school systems are "creamed" is that the jobs they are to perform are more closely related to academic skills than are some other types of paraprofessional occupations. A survey of education aides working within the public schools can be instructive in documenting exactly who is working within schools and in assessing the relative effectiveness of different classifications of aides. This same survey can relate to the two other recruitment problems.

The modern approach to education hypothesizes the need for role models within a classroom with which the pupils can identify. The other two groups that are especially sought after in line with this role model theory, are males and Spanish-speaking adults. Thus, we have three sub-populations among the poor that are "creamed" for educational programs. The problem addressed in this section is not "how to recruit such persons" but whether the premises that they are necessary are valid. Therefore, it is suggested that an assessment be made of the relative effectiveness of teacher aides meeting these three criteria as opposed to others who do not should be undertaken.

Towards this end the employment applications for teacher aide positions should serve as source for background classification of the para-professionals, and for comparing the characteristics and qualifications of applicants who were selected with those who were rejected. This should illuminate somewhat the question of "creaming" or differential selection. Although measurement of the effects job performance is difficult, some of the measures that can be used to rate performance of paraprofessional aides are presented below:

... The subjective impressions on the one hand by the teachers about the uses made of the paraprofessionals and their capabilities for fulfilling responsibilities.

... The subjective impressions of parents about the reactions of their children to the additional person in the classroom, whether or not they comment upon the fact that the person is male, Spanish-speaking, etc.

... Observations of the classroom behavior of the pupils in terms of interest, participation, behavior, etc.

In each of the following sections the problems peculiar to the development of career ladders for paraprofessionals in the field of education will be described and general recommendations for research suggested. Thereafter the chapter will proceed to consider problems of recruitment and selection, then to problems of training (including professional training), and finally to program organization and paraprofessional utilization and measurement of impact.

Career Ladders

In the establishment of career mobility ladders within a school system, there are two types of possible developments. The first concerns ladders dealing with the hieracrchy of instructional functions within the classroom and the second with other paraprofessional roles. In regard to the former although role definitions have not always been implemented they are formulated. As to the latter there are no prescribed channels for vertical or lateral mobility.

Most of the aides now performing in mobility programs are those employed within the classroom structure. There is a need to apply analytical skills to creating career ladders for other school positions: For school outreach workers and for assistants who are currently employed in cafeterias, libraries, etc.

A survey of school staffing patterns should determine; (1) the current opportunities available and known to these aides; (2) what tasks are performed by the professionals in these roles; (3) what innovative and needed services may be built into a ladder.

Recruitment and Selection

A number of recruitment and selection problems arise pertaining to the paraprofessional program in the school system which have implications for expanded program operation. The first is a general criticism which as been leveled against most new careers programs but which is acutest when discussing the educational program. This is the problem of "creaming" or selecting the most educated and/or most socially acceptable applicants according to "middle-class" standards.

... Scores of whatever tests are usually given in these grades. The findings in this study should reflect analysis of the overall impact of the activities of paraprofessionals in terms of the past academic attainment of the paraprofessional, past employment history, the sex of the paraprofessional, and primary language and ethnicity (in respect to that of the pupils). If the findings show that specific types of paraprofessionals are especially effective, recruitment efforts should be geared accordingly.

Training

As may be anticipated from the nature of the classroom as a work site, particular training problems are presented in the preparation of educational paraprofessionals that may not be present in other human service fields. The problem which was cited by many of our informants dealt with the powers of the master teacher either not to provide paraprofessionals with the opportunities to utilize the skills taught in training, or to give them too much responsibility.

Experimentation with joint training of teachers and aides should be undertaken to demonstrate whether or not it will foster a more consistent use of aides within the classroom. Again we have three alternative training patterns whose effects should be compared. First, training should be given to paraprofessionals with minimal preparation of the professional staff either by project personnel or school principals. In the second design both new careers participants and their teachers should be engaged in training experiences but separately. The third model would hold regularly scheduled joint training with all members of the teaching team participating. After the training cycle interviews should be held with professional and paraprofessional staff to assess their working relationships and training experiences.

: How well did they work in the classroom?

: How well were they able to use skills taught in training?

: Did they feel that the teacher (teacher aide) supported their efforts?

: Did they feel that there were times they were inhibited or restrained by the other member of the team?

: How would they assess their training?

: What are their recommendations for the next training cycle?

Analysis of these responses in terms of the different training designs will facilitate an assessment of the relative merits of joint versus separate training.

In addition to the interviews, the study design should include observation periods during the training sessions. The major purpose of the observations would be to determine the extent to which particpation is as fruitful for both groups (para-and professional) depending upon the type of training to which they are exposed.

Some of the respondents we interviewed in the course of this study cited as a basic hindrance in the growth of paraprofessional teaching programs the lack of relevance of professional training currently available to teachers. The gist of this argument stated that even if teachers were willing to perform in supervisory team roles or as diagnosticians they are not prepared.

The use of non-professionals in public schools necessitates not only training curriculum for the non-professional but for the professional as well.

The teacher must be prepared through his education for his projected future role.

What changes are needed in present professional curriculums to enable teachers to assume this role? A survey of graduate schools of education and undergraduate colleges awarding degrees in education should be initiated.

Surveys should request bulletins and curriculum outlines from these institutions and these should be analyzed.

Teacher preparation courses dealing with utilization of paraprofessionals should be analyzed.

Consultations between New Careers operators and teaching institutions would be helpful in determining types of new courses that are needed.

A study of this sort, will show where serious deficits in professional educational curriculum are and will pinpoint the need for awarding grants for curriculum development purposes.

Utilization

This section raises the issue of utilization only as it pertains to optimal deployment patterns for effective and efficient use of paraprofessionals which enable them and professional to function at highest capacity. Many of the persons with whom we spoke had fairly fixed ideas of what they expected the aide or assistant to be doing, but suggested that there is a lack of information as to the ideal number and roles of adults per classroom which would facilitate this performance. An important question in this respect includes the optimal ratio of education aides to teachers. The cooperation of a school principal would allow for controlled testing of different deployment patterns.

Schools should be divided according to grades and different composition patterns are: one paraprofessional per teacher and one paraprofessional to two teachers in two classrooms working one-half day with each. These should be used plus innovations in deployment such as a floating team of specialists, i.e. a reading supervisor and one or two paraprofessionals visiting classes at assigned times to work with reading problems.

Impact

Demonstration of the use of paraprofessionals within the public schools will theoretically produce various effects upon the paraprofessionals, upon the children with whom they are working, upon the teachers' role, upon the parents, and upon the school as an institution both in terms of more parental involvement and closer ties with the community and in restructuring of the education bureacracy.

Employment of aides or assistants within the classroom, as discussed by new careers ideologists, will relieve the certified teacher of many activities including clerical and disciplinary tasks which reduce her effectiveness and will thus free her to give maximum attention to master teaching and diagnostic roles.

Although this is a major premise upon which the new careers program was originated it remains to be documented whether in fact the role of a teacher does change due to a paraprofessional's presence. Research efforts should be devoted to defining objectively the manner in which the role of the teacher changes in terms of new activities performed, or different utilization of time among traditional activities. The effects which role changes, if in fact they occur, may have upon the teacher are also crucial. If the role changes, we must explore the subjective meaning this change has for the teacher - Is she "happier" performing at this level? Is her effectiveness as a teacher increased? Is she professionally prepared for her new role?

Teacher performance should be observed within a sample of classrooms selected in comparable areas according to pupil characteristics. The sample of classes selected should be matched according to these characteristics and grades and it should be divided between classes in which there are no paraprofessionals present and classes where there is full-time paraprofessional, or classes where the same teacher is present but with an aide for only a day.

As the design suggests it would be acceptable to use the time periods when the aide is and is not present as separate cases.

The ideal situation for this comparison employs the performance of the same teacher with and without paraprofessional assistance to control for personal variables.

Among the factors to be compared between time intervals when an aide is and is not present should include subjective indicators such as qualities of interaction as well as objective indicators.

The basic tool should be observation of:

(a) Non-professional tasks performed; interaction with teacher, pupils, administrators, parents - type of activity, amount of time spent.

(b) Professional activities - time interval description of activities.

(c) Differences in amounts of time teachers spent performing different tasks: instruction to group, etc.

A study of this kind may be combined with an attitudinal study of the values that the teachers place upon the work of the paraprofessionals and with inquiries into the bases of their professional pride.

The subjective reactions of the teachers and school administrators to the aides and assistants is a very important determinant of whether or not the program can function adequately. An interview survey with a sample of teachers chosen randomly from various school districts throughout the nation should address itself to administrators' and teachers' attitudes toward the use of paraprofessional aides and assistants within classrooms and the specific perspectives they have of the concept of new careers in public education.

A brief summary of the findings of a study done by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc. in 1966 entitled A Study of the Non-professional in the C.A.P., stated that

> "They found the majority of professionals working hard to make the program a success. On the negative side they conclude that some professionals were not willing to delegate meaningful roles to the non-professional."*

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*Greenberg, Barry, Review of Literature Relating to the Use of Non-professionals in Education (From 1942 to 1967), for New Careers Development Center, New York University, 1967, p. 14.

Such a survey would solicit the opinions and experiences of professionals re:

: Their interpretation of what a worth-while role for the non-professional should be.

: The tasks that they feel the teacher should not be performing.

: The ideal function they think that the teacher should have in the classroom.

: The likelihood that the new careers program will be a significant force in the education of pupils.

: A listing of the benefits and disadvantages resulting from use of aides.

: The manner in which their professional education and past experience did or did not prepare them for sharing their responsibilities with aides.

There is one further dynamic which should be explored in assessing teacher's attitudes toward paraprofessionals. This was raised by Sidney Fine in a publication concerning job analysis for new careers. It concerns the observation that many professionals cannot, nor do they desire to, perform consistently at utmost level of skill but require intervals during the day when they can perform less demanding duties. Whether teachers feel this need is noteworthy and may explain some strains which may occur as a result of the constant presence of paraprofessionals.

Aides are also supposed to serve in the public school system as "bridges" between the disadvantaged work of pupil and parent and the school. The bridge must function as an interpretive link between teacher, pupil, and parent. Auxiliary personnel are expected to assist teachers to relate to the community in the following ways:

"Auxiliaries can help parents and community residents articulate their needs and interests,

"Auxiliaries can interpret school programs and goals to the community,

"Auxiliaries can help improve education and make it more relevant to the needs of the students in the district as they perform each assignment."*

A further need for analysis of the roles of the educational paraprofessionals concerns what shall here be referred to as the "bridging" role.

Aides, within the classroom, serve as a bridge to the extent that they can successfully interpret aspects of a pupil's behavior, to a teacher to allow that teacher to better understand and more effectively deal with the behavior of the pupil.

Both teacher and aide play a part in facilitating the aide in successfully fulfilling this role, for even if the paraprofessional is capable of interpretation the teacher may not be willing to listen.

The assistant may even run the risk of further alienating an already insecure teacher by pushing his interpretive functions to the extent that the teacher will feel he is butting in. Studies should be performed to analyze the bridging function. Is it happening? How?

The bridging role may also be affirmed by quantitative measurement. Samples of parents of children from comparable socio-economic and ethnic communities who are attending schools in which aides are and are not employed should be interviewed about their participation in the school lives of their children:

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*A New Careers Guide for Trainers of Education, Auxiliaries, New Careers Training Laboratory, New York University, School of Education, New York 1968.

What is the extent of their knowledge about the school? In what ways does the low income parent participate in school activities, i.e. P.T.A. meetings, special committee meetings, individual visits to teachers and other volunteer activities? Has the frequency and types of parents-school contacts changed? To what do parents attribute the reasons for changes in their involvement in school affairs? In what ways do they feel that their child will or will not benefit from increased family involvement in school affairs? The results of such interviews will demonstrate the role that the non-professional plays in bringing the school closer to the community and the community closer to the school.

Even if identification between pupil and aide is shown to have beneficial effects there still remains the difficult question of relating the program to the cognitive development of pupils. Reports of the effects of new careers educational programs produced thus far suggest favorable results in many areas of pupil performance but it has been too early to be definitive about learning achievement. However, efforts should be started to isolate experimental and control groups of third grade students, to whom uniform achievement tests are administered. It should be possible by matching test scores to divide the students into treatment and control groups, keeping socio-economic characteristics and ethnicity constant. Half of the students should be put into classes which do not utilize paraprofessionals and the other half in classes which do. This division should be maintained for the purpose of intensive study through the sixth grade.

Advocates of new careers programs in education insist that the use of teaching aides is economical. Prototypes have been developed citing the financial benefits of the program, but, thus far, definitive cost analysis studies have not been undertaken.

In preparing for future growth of the paraprofessional programs in public schools cost-benefit studies should be performed on the relative costs to a school system of utilizing and training teaching aides and assistants compared with hiring more certified teachers or utilizing other means of instruction.

Included within a study of this nature should be training costs as well as salary expenses. The study should be mounted in schools which employ paraprofessionals in varying capacities and not merely at entry level. Technological advances in the teaching field in the last few years should also be included in an economic study.

In a study of this kind data collection and analysis should include the qualitative achievements of paraprofessional workers so that monetary savings or expenditures by the school do not serve as the single rationale for determining whether to utilize, expand or modify the program.

Lastly, a necessary aspect of the proposed research program includes a survey of the resistances of professional organizations to paraprofessional programs. "A concern of teachers is how much of a graduated scale can we have for auxiliaries when many teachers with college degrees are making $5,000.00 to $5,500.00 a year? In Eastern Kentucky, the paraprofessional program would probably be dropped immediately if the teacher-aides organized a union, or if they attempted to form a separate organization for themselves."*

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*Dady, Milan B., A Report in the Training of Teacher-Aides in Eastern Kentucky, undated, p. 3.

Vocational Secondary Education

A "new careers" view of vocational education sees it as a system of educational institutions articulating with each other so that a student may begin his training toward human services occupation at any stage in his scholastic career and continue upward for more highly advanced training. The option must also be open for any student who elects to "drop out" of school in order to work to re-enroll in school at various points along the continuum and not be penalized.

New Careers programs have largely relied upon the community-junior colleges to provide the major educational preparation for their participants. However, many of the persons with whom we conferred during our field studies pointed to vocational and liberal arts secondary schools, as logical, future areas in which training for paraprofessional human service careers will become important.

The earlier elementary grades were also suggested as targets in which to establish human service orientations but this prediction is altogether too far-ranged to be seriously considered in this report.

This chapter will address a series of research undertakings directed at the high school level which are designed to provide answers to various questions which must be confronted prior to the funding of new curricula within these institutions.

The chapter on community college may be considered somewhat parallel to this chapter, although the former seeks to enhance current efforts while the latter is concerned with launching new programs.

A first research priority is, therefore, an examination of the current status of human service occupational preparation in the high schools.

Current Status of Program

The current emphasis upon academic institutions to be come "relevant" to the needs of the residents of their communities and to the needs of the labor market has produced some innovative human service curriculums within schools of secondary education, particularly in the area of training of medical technicians and nurses.

If effective new curricula are to be developed, it is profitable to begin with an analysis of the steps which have already been taken by secondary schools to establish their present human service curricula. A survey of secondary schools, both public and private, should be made to collect available curriculum materials and assessment data. Although the survey will primarily relate to those programs which are specifically geared to the human service fields; work-study arrangements for other occupations may also provide valuable insights.

The data which should be gathered include: the range of curricula offered within secondary schools, the careers to which occupational preparatory courses are geared, the bases upon which these courses were selected, the occupational and labor market information used, the instructional methods employed, and the location of instruction (is training towards these careers conducted within a classroom, laboratory or at an actual job site).

In addition, survey questions should relate to the characteristics of students enrolled, including their socio-economic status, educational aptitude and attainment, employment histories, occupational interests, and personal data, i.e. age, sex, ethnicity, etc. Lastly, researchers should attempt to assess the impact of the programs upon the occupational futures of the students. This may be accomplished by ascertaining the ratio of number of students enrolled to dropouts, grades, placements, subsequent employment and educational advancement of those completing courses. Requests should be made for any evaluation reports the institutions have written.

Assessing Demand for Human Service Curricula

Education planners sometimes decide upon new careers and courses to be taught without considering the extent of their labor market and student demand. In the present instance, the development of human service, paraprofessional curricula in secondary schools must consider three questions: (1) Are employing agencies willing to hire youth to fill paraprofessional positions (even if there is a need for manpower in these fields)? (2) Are there sufficient numbers of youth who are considering discontinuing full-time schooling who express interest in entering these careers? and (3) Will the community colleges which are also training for these occupations later accept these youth and be able to provide them with more advanced training?

As a first step, therefore, planners must assess the potential for employment existing among agencies utilizing paraprofessionals as human service workers. Several factors are of importance: which human service fields are currently hiring youth (under 22 years of age)? What are the capacities in which they are being hired? What skills are required? What are their opportunities for advancement?

There may well be fields, such as recreation, which do hire substantial numbers of young persons. Assessment of these fields will show the extent of existing manpower gaps, what additional services may be provided if gaps are filled, and the amount and type of training required. Such information will be applicable to the formation of a secondary education curriculum, as well as enabling identification of agencies which may be willing to work out cooperative educational arrangements.

But research on available employment opportunities for youth enrolled in or graduating from secondary schools should not be limited to those agencies or fields which currently employ youths. A collection of qualifications and hiring criteria employed by other fields should be analyzed to determine whether or under what conditions youth would qualify. Some agencies employing paraprofessionals clearly specify that the applicant must be "mature" or have children of (his) or her own, or stipulate other requirements which disqualify young persons. Expect for pilot or demonstration programs, secondary schools should turn their attention to other fields. If there are fields which are experiencing severe manpower shortages and are having difficulties finding adults to fill vacant slots, a secondary school(s) may be able to demonstrate the effectiveness of youth in these positions. Demonstrations of this nature should be undertaken both as a new curriculum area for secondary educaation, and as an experiment in changing rigid employment qualifications.

This survey should be accompanied by an assessment of the attitudes of a sample of employers to hiring high school youth. Variations in the attitudes of employers toward hiring youth should be analyzed by field and type of agency, reasons for different opinions and past experiences. Complementary investigation should be undertaken of the attitudes of youth toward particular occupations and their willingness and interest in participating in a course of study leading to a paraprofessional position within that occupation.

Though youths may reveal little interest in such paraprofessional occupations, our respondents leaned heavily toward the opinion that it is market demand which should be more influential in the final decision to take the initial steps toward a new course of human service preparation.

Research into the third area to be assessed before deciding on the "market" for human service directed curriculum in a secondary school level relates to the articulation between the secondary school and other educational institutions. It must be borne in mind that any new careers oriented curriculum must provide for upward mobility through opportunities for advanced education.

A final item which should be assessed before introducing a human service curriculum on a secondary school level, will be the receptivity of institutions of higher education toward the acceptance of students completing the curriculum. The capabilities of junior colleges to build upon such a curriculum, to add increased knowledge to that already studied by the students, should also be probed.

Studies designed to aid the secondary school in establishing new curricula must deal with the how of developing and instituting curricula once the desirability of doing so has been empirically established. Among the hows to be investigated are: What should the curriculum content include? What should be the method of instruction? How long should the course of study last? What should be the sequencing of courses? What physical setting should be used? What materials should be used? What should be the admissions requirements? What type of faculty is needed?

Several issues concerning curriculum building were discussed in the chapter on junior and community colleges contained in Volume III. The research designs needed to answer many of the questions cited above will not differ in any essential respects when applied to one or the other educational institution. Therefore, only several of these questions, selected on the basis of particular relevancy to secondary schools, will be included in this chapter. These issues are: Curriculum Content, Curriculum Methods, Physical Location of Training, and Student Characteristics.

a) Curriculum Content

Although the chapter on community colleges has dealt with these issues, they merit repitition.

The first step must be an assessment of what new service delivery roles within specific occupations are emerging due to or concommitant with the emphasis within New Careers theory on institutional change. The skills and knowledge needed in order to perform related roles must be incorporated within the curriculum. There are two possibilities for research endeavors aimed at these new service roles. Where there are on-going projects utilizing such new roles, systematic job analysis of the working performance of these services will uncover the skills and attitudinal dimensions involved which may then be incorporated into the curriculum. On the other hand, the positions may exist not in fact but in theory. In this case, it is necessary to create models of the desired occupational position, test the models and then apply the results of the acceptably tested model to the process of curriculum building.

Junior college faculty working within these fields may serve as valuable informants about which particular occupations should be included in a study to assess new service roles for youth.

Perhaps it is redundant to stress these points since they have been emphasized throughout the report.

b) Curriculum Methods

Research should attempt to assess methods employed in past and present human service programs. To build a base of knowledge for decision-making purposes, inquiries should also be directed to secondary schools in Western Europe, to community-based training programs, and to experimental applications of new teaching methods.

In the area of occupationally linked secondary school education it is extremely valuable to broaden our perspectives beyond the United States. Research focused upon countries where secondary education is more directly involved with occupational preparation than in the United States, or where going to vocational schools is more directly linked to employment, will uncover new areas for curriculum development, new instructional methods, and additional source material which may be used as a basis for creation of new curricula.

Currently, indigenous community action groups are engaged in the process of training young persons for work in community service occupations. Unfortuantely, knowledge of these efforts and their results receive little dissemination. In most instances the agencies do not communicate outside their particular communities. Since newly developed curricula in secondary schools will be applied to the same populations as these programs, efforts should be made to locate and evaluate them.

By building upon curriculum which has been developed in these two areas, European secondary schools and community develop training programs, the secondary school may have a basis upon which to create effective curriculum content and methods.

Educational theorists have recently advanced many ideas which have direct application to the issue at hand. Predominantly investigations have been addressed to new types of courses that could be introduced into academic institutions to replace more standardized subjects of the past. Another area which warrants research attention is the application of machine methods which have been only minimally demonstrated in social service fields.

Consider for example the substitution of Communication Skills for Basic English. Such courses, it is hypothesized, will more directly link aspects of class work with aspects of employment. They are considered valuable additions to a curriculum, both because they will maximize the impact of in-school teaching upon job performance and because they will increase the relevance of school to the daily lives of the students. It is proposed that schools be encouraged by grant awards to write and test such syllabi. Testing should include demonstrations of impact upon job performance and increased interest on the part of students. Such demonstrations should be carefully documented and the results as well as all materials developed and distributed. As in other training components of new careers, much of the problem lies in the lack of dissemination and the dearth of written materials including curriculum outlines, evaluative tests and text materials.

Content analysis of recent educational journals will uncover many more recommended substitutions. Audio-visual techniques, programmed instructions, closed circuit television and many additional experimental techniques have been introduced into the curriculums of secondary vocational schools. However, the applications of these devices have not been demonstrated on a sufficiently wide or scientifically controlled scale, particularly among the populations with whom new careers is concerned with at the level of the secondary schools. The core aspects generic to human directed occupations have not been related to recent pedagogic achievement.

c) Location

A new careers approach in secondary schools will maintain the basic design of a mix of classroom-field activities. As in junior colleges, it is visualized that youth preparing for human service occupations within secondary schools will be working in field placements and that training stipends will be provided.

On the one hand, the secondary school provides an ideal atmosphere for this because, with the exception of specialized schools, they are largely neighborhood based. Thus, the community service role of new careers is extremely applicable to secondary education.

On the other hand, the model work-study mix may not be applicable here. In such a design, skill preparation would be conducted in the school while practice would occur in the field. However, high schools are unlikely either to afford the personnel to teach all occupational skills or the necessary equipment. Especially in fields such as public health, the amount and quality of equipment required for skill preparation may be prohibitive for high schools. In such cases it might be more appropriate to bring the students to the user agency for all skill training. Carefully devised and evaluated demonstrations in various fields of different work-study mixes will provide answers about the relative effectiveness of alternative types of designs.

d) Studen Characteristics

Another aspect of new careers educational design which is more pecularily a secondary school problem emerges from the ages of the students.

The factor of age is important, not only in terms of the utilization of these persons in human service careers but because for the majority of these students this will be their first meaningful encounter with the world of work other than casual employment. Thus, appropriate work-related attitudes and behaviors may be totally new to this population.

As a first step, it would be wise to interview a sample of students to learn what their expectations of the world of work are--expectations both in terms of what they anticipate from the objective work situation and what they think their subjective reactions, both positive and negative will be. These responses should be analyzed for factors to be included in a preparatory work curriculum.

In addition, discussion of items for inclusion in this type of work orientation should be conducted with persons practicing in human service fields as personnel managers and supervisors in social service agencies. Since high schools have had more experience in training low income pupils than have community colleges, this variable need not be included in studies of student characteristics.

Community Colleges

To become a reality, subprofessional occupations and careers require the acceptance and legitimization of educational institutions. By recognizing the societal need for new occupational roles and by providing the necessary training the educational system is furthering the institutionalization of new careers. "In our society it is the educational institutions that provide the necessary passports that permit horizontal as well as vertical mobility."*

The community college has become a major force in the provision of occupational training and education for new careers, and is looked upon by many planners and educators as the educational institution most suited to provide the resources necessary to implement the program's educational component. The following reasons are advanced to support this point of view.

> The establishment of community junior colleges has been regarded by many as the most obvious effort toward democratizing higher education in the United States.... The community junior college is an "open door" institution. Various leaders in the field have stated the basic concept of admissions as follows: Some colleges will set certain selective standards for admission and retention of students, but community colleges will keep their doors open to any person, youth or adult, who can profit by what the college can offer, and the colleges will strive to offer what the people can profit by. **

Occupational education, a major function of the community college, corresponds with the job related training needs of new careers. The two year Associate of Arts Degree, granted by community colleges, is a basic step on most career ladders and a requirement for career advancement.

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* A Plan for Resolving the Manpower Issue, National Association of Social Workers News, Vol 14 No. 2, February 1969, p. 38.

** John E. Roueche, Salvage, Redirection or Custody? Remedial Education in the Community College, Etic Clearinghouse for Jr. College Info., 1968 Pages 1-6.

The accessibility of community colleges to disadvantaged populations and their recent, rather remarkable proliferation make them a particularly available and useful resource for New Careers Programs. Feldstein states:

> The two-year college, granting associate degrees is the fastest growing educational institution in the United States. There are some 950 community and/or junior colleges with some in every state, and new ones are opening at the rate of one each week.... The new community colleges tend to be located in urban areas and often in ghetto areas. By virtue of their newness and their commitment to the city, the community colleges often are most innovative, most receptive to change. *

For these and other reasons, the community college is likely to be more responsive, than other institutions of higher education, to the changing educational needs of the community. This notion is expressed by Shatz and Steinberg:

> Junior colleges are more flexible in curriculum, experimentation, and innovation in the educational process as an expanding list of offerings reported in the AAJC Occupational Education Bulletin amply demonstrates. This expertise can be applied to the identification of community needs, gaps in services, direct and indirect assistance in mounting education and training programs, and broad involvement of faculty in specific areas of curriculum development, training, remediation, training of agency supervisors and planning and consultative services. **

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* Donald Feldstein, Community College and Other Associate Degree Programs for Social Welfare Areas, Council on Social Work Education, 1968, Pages 5-6.

** Sheldon S. Steinberg and Eunice Shatz, "Junior Colleges and the New Careers Program," Junior College Journal, February 1968, Page 16.

The capacity to meet some of these expectations has been demonstrated by a few community colleges which have become pace setters in the advancement of New Career Programs. At the same time it should be recognized that community colleges face a number of major problems which limit their ability to respond effectively to the educational requirements of New Career programs. Analysis of those problems within a research framework is undertaken in the remainder of this section.

The proposed research studies are broadly intended to assess the capabilities of community colleges to provide educational services in the various human service fields and to establish a basis for thier improvement. Although community colleges have only just begun to develop educational programs in human services, as institutions they have existed for a considerable period of time. Thus, their general philosophic orientations and their characteristic educational approaches, as well as their initial ventures into human service fields, can be profitably subjected to systematic study.

Though special emphasis will be devoted to the educational needs of those students who are enrolled in New Careers Programs, this will not be an exclusive concern. Interest will also fall upon other students training for paraprofessional employment in the human service fields.

Since the object of the proposed studies is to assess and to improve the educational capabilities of community colleges to train paraprofessionals for human service careers, it follows that they should be addressed largely to those who plan and operate the educational programs of these institutions. However, where it appears essential studies are directed to the attention of local New Careers program planners, and operators and to others as indicated. In addition, the needs of federal agencies for information about these programs may also be served by the proposed studies. But these studies were not framed within a national perspective. This was not a major thrust of this study.

The discussion and recommendations contained in this section have been confined rather closely to those problems and issues which have emerged as a result of the efforts of community colleges to serve the educational and occupational needs of new careerists. The temptation to engage other basic issues related to the broader needs and deficiencies of higher education at the community college level has been resisted. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that many respondents interviewed in the study vehemently maintained the need for essential institutional change at community and senior colleges alike if new careerists and other students are to receive an education of maximum value. But analysis of the ills of higher education was not the primary objective of this study. Still the immediate problems of providing new careerists a community college education serves to underscore the existence of a complex series of generic issues which confronted institutions of higher education long before the advent of the New Careers Program.

Increasing reliance upon community colleges to provide new careerists with advanced forms of skill training and educational credentials has created a series of immediate problems which the colleges must resolve if they are to serve this new student group effectively. But the educational needs of new careerists compete for attention with those of recent high school graduates whose already substantial number is likely to be augmented by growing acceptance of open-admission policies. In addition, adult community residents are enrolling in increasing numbers in both day and evening community college classes. The result is that even the most passionate advocate of the New Careers Program cannot argue persuasively that the educational problems of new careerists constitute a first-priority issue for community colleges.

On the other hand, it need not be assumed that the educational needs of new careerists are in all respects different than those of recent high school graduates and other community college enrollees. In fact, in many ways they may be quite similar with the result that measures designed to aid new careerists may be useful for other students as well as whether this assumption is at all tenable should be tested by research which seeks to compare the (educational) strengths and deficiencies of new careerists, recent high school graduates and other adults over twenty-one years of age. Variables for analysis should include, motivation, clarity and strength of objectives, educational attainment and capabilities, the availability of time and place for study and the presence of competing interests and obligations. Subjects should be tested at the time of admission and again after this initial semester to determine whether their college experience has revealed any significantly new or altered needs. At admissions student interviews should be conducted and their records carefully analyzed. Subsequently, students should be reinterviewed, and their progress assessed in interviews with faculty and through analysis of their performance records.

Community colleges throughout the country are experimenting with a variety of new arrangements and procedures to meet the needs of new careerists for accessibility to higher education, for individual program planning and for supportive services. These needs and arrangements should be described and their educational impact evaluated. The proposed studies discussed in the remainder of the section are addressed to the identification and analysis of needs and problems and to empirical evaluation of the efforts of community colleges to meet these needs and to reduce these problems.

One other point must be made before launching into the discussion of proposed studies. It is apparent that measures of effectiveness as well as the methods and techniques to be employed in evaluative studies will have to be considered in the course of developing each research design. To avoid repetition in this discussion, it will be assumed that alternative methodologies and techniques are known, and require specification only in the unusual circumstance; _e.g._ where particular comparison groups should be employed. Similarly, measures of effectiveness will be understood to include grade levels, participation in extra-curricular activities drop-out rates and other indices which may be obtained from the performance records of new careerists. Those measures should be supplemented by the assessment of students, faculty and work-site supervisors. Lastly, objective and subjective measures should be broken down by age, sex, ethnicity, marital status and other variables related to the objectives of the study.

1) Considerable experimentation has been taking place with placement of new careerists in homogeneous class groupings rather than in regular, more-or-less heterogeneous classes. Generally, homogeneous classes for new careerists are maintained for a semester or two before the students are integrated into regular classes. The argument for homogeneous classes assumes that there are differences in background and academic preparation between new careerists and other community college students which require more individual pedagogical approaches and new or different methods of instruction. It is also assumed that homogeneity in class composition is more likely to produce group unity and support and, consequently, higher morale which will contribute to better academic adjustment and performance. On the other hand, heterogeneous groupings are based on the belief that it is important to expose new careerists to competition with other students. It treats them as equals with others and avoids implicitly labelling them as "inferiors." Further, heterogeneity gives new careerists a more realistic view of the college environment and exposes them more fully to the benefits of the college experience. It assumes that success would be more satisfying to new careerists if they knew they were competing with other students who had met the usual community college entrance requirements.

These assumptions clearly need to be tested and assessed in terms of their impact on academic adjustment and performance. It would also be useful to ascertain the academic experiences and accomplishments of new careerists who were placed in homogeneous class groupings in their first year when they were subsequently placed in heterogeneous groupings. Do they experience easier adjustment and better performance records in the second year than a comparable group of new careerists who were integrated with other students in their first year?

2) Community colleges have also varied schedules to accommodate the need of new careers students for both work and study. In one arrangement students are on campus for two full days (or two-and-a-half days) while the remainder of the week is spent on the job. On campus they attend classes, and have time for study, counseling, tutoring, extracurricular activities and relaxation. Other scheduling patterns have new careers students on campus either every morning or every afternoon.

To some degree, schedules will be determined by the form of the college's new careers program. Thus, the practice of placing new careerists in homogeneous class groupings will permit greater flexibility in scheduling of classes than heterogeneous groupings. In this study respondents reported that the schedule which places the student on campus for two full days was perhaps the most popular arrangement. It eliminated the time, expense and bother of traveling between the college and the job every day, providing the student with a less hectic schedule and with time to concentrate on studies and to participate in campus activities. This type of schedule also seemed to be favored by job supervisors who preferred to have new careerists available for a full day. Nevertheless, there is little evidence to show that one type of schedule contributes more or less than others to a new careers students' performance on campus or on the job.

3) Respondents in this study expressed a series of concerns regarding the consequences of released-time policies of the public and private agencies which employ new careerists. Of particular interest was the effect of such policies on other non-professional employees. The reactions of members of the professional staff was also an issue. The implication in most instances was that other staff are likely to respond negatively to what is viewed as "special privileges," for new careerists, though this was conceded to be less likely for professional than non-professional staff. There were consequently many questions regarding the effect of such responses on the working relationships of new careerists and other staff members, and of how new careerists, in turn, respond to the negative reactions of others to their released-time privileges. The assumption here is that such situations may well present impediments to the success of new careerists in their academic as well as their job experiences.

These possibilities raised further questions about the measures adopted by agency management to cope with the potentially negative and serious consequences of released-time educational policies for new careerists; to mollify the negative reactions of other staff members and to insure that their antagonism does not jeopardize the success of new careerists on the job and on the campus. Some respondents wondered whether agency executives, particularly in public agencies, were personally convinced of the need or cost-effectiveness of released-time policies for new careerists or whether they felt it necessary to go along because of community and political pressures. They were also curious about the different methods of financing released-time educational programs by public agencies throughout the country - such questions are clearly significant in assessing the immediate success of the program and its longevity.

4) Some agencies, perhaps in increasing numbers, are providing new careerists with salary increments and greater job responsibilities while they are in the community college program. Participants receive one or more increases contingent upon their completion of a stipulated number of college credits. Presumably these increases are in addition to those they receive whether or not they attend a community college. These practices appear to be justified by two assumptions. One is that they operate as incentives to enroll in and to complete the community college program. The other is that completion of a given number of credits makes the new careerist a more useful employee which entitles him to both a salary increment and to greater job responsibilities. Whether similar practices are to be employed for those who go on to a Bachelor's degree is not known, but it is an interesting question. In any event, it is important to test the validity of these assumptions and to ascertain the effects of these practices on the performance of new careerists on the campus and on the job. In respect to job performance issues of the kind noted in paragraph 3 above are also like to be relevant. However, these concerns can be built into a study design which employs comparative groups for analysis of effects.

5) Community college administrators among this study's respondents often felt hard-pressed to cope with the frequent and often unrealistic

demands for programs and services made by innumerable community advocates of new careers programs. Community colleges along with other public institutions of higher education have been caught up in the expanding movement towards community self-determination and improvement. As public institutions they are expected to be sensitive and responsive to the educational and training needs of community residents. A multitude of spokesmen, many of them self-appointed, have appeared to demand programs and services for community residents, new careerists and other local paraprofessionals. Their demands are often described as devoid of understanding of what they entail by way of financial and technical support, or how they are related to labor market demand and the academic requirements of senior colleges. In these circumstances it would be extremely useful to study the character, rationale and origins of these demands made upon a national sample of community colleges; the extent of community support for the demands; the advocates and the groups they represent, and the ways in which various community colleges handle these demands.

6) One of the more frequent and insistent demands made by new careers advocates is that community colleges shorten the educational experience; _i.e._, reduce the time required to obtain a degree. They point to the fact that most new careerists are adults with responsibilities for earning a livelihood and caring for dependents as well as for completing an educational program. For some spokesmen, perhaps only a minority, the degree represents little more than the acquisition of a rather useless credential; a senseless practice with which one must go along. They and

others feel more can be learned on the job, than in the college classroom. Accordingly, any steps are welcome which can be taken to shorten the time needed to obtain the degree, among the steps advocated are credits for work experience, for life experience, independent study, various forms of cooperative education and others.

This suggests the need for a survey of current practices within individual occupational disciplines among community colleges. The questions to be addressed should include descriptions of these practices (for example, what aspects of the new careerists work or life experience are credited? How many credits are given? How are they handled administratively? Are the credits granted conditionally or unconditionally and at what points in new careerists academic career?) What rationales are used to explain these practices? What are their apparent efforts on jobs and academic performance? Is a system of work experience credits more appropriate and feasible in some fields than others? Which? Why?

7) An impartial variation of this issue relates to the question of how community colleges might most effectively relate their curricula and teaching methods to the new careerists' work experience. Through surveys, analytic studies and demonstrations empirical efforts should be made to determine optimum methods and techniques for integrating work experience with classroom instruction; the responsibilities that colleges assume for supervision of work experience, and similar questions.

On these questions, it would also be instructive to study the educational performance and experience of three comparable groups of community college students, one group should consist of new careerists engaged in paid work; a second group should include students who are given non-paid field-work placements; and, a third group who are not involved in either of these activities and are free to devote themselves full-time to school work. The study design will have to control for student characteristics and for occupational specialization. If at all possible, the influence of different instructors and curricula should be neutralized. Such studies might shed light on such questions as paid or non-paid work on the educational experience and the desirability of scholarships for full-time study.

8) Those responsible for the development of community college curricula, i.e., for the content and sequencing of course, often find themselves in rather difficult positions. Somehow they must find the means for delineating a progression of learning experiences that reflects the requirements of specific occupations and higher education institution, and the educational capabilities and deficiencies of a varied student population. The difficulties may be compounded when the students in question are disadvantaged new careerists, a group whose educational background and age presents curricula planners with a unique challenge for which they have had little previous experience. In this situation planners will need a full measure of experience and increasingly intimate knowledge of students' attributes, of occupational and higher educational requirements, and the establishment of effective processes for developing and assessing curricula.

A full understanding of current curricula content and development processes applied to sequences of courses enrolling large numbers of new careerists is essential as a basis for effecting improvements by both national and local agencies. Since curricula content and development processes vary significantly among community colleges and occupational and educational specializations, research should be designed to ascertain the major curriculum patterns that are currently practiced and their rationales. A random sample of community colleges should be selected incorporating different types of college curricula for each occupational area, (e.g. for the field of education). Further, the curriculum designs should include those which offer generic preparation as well as specialized training. Specifically, the study should inquire into:

: The information and informational sources and assumptions re: students (New Careerists and others) and occupations which were employed in developing curricula;

: The methods and resources employed in acquiring such information, and the problems encountered in the process;

: The role of faculty, students, user agencies, professional associations, unions, institutions of higher education, etc., in developing curricula and initiating curricula change;

: The major curricula themes and their rationale (e.g., the mix between liberal arts and occupational education, and the trend towards generic vs. specific occupational curricula);

: Variations and inconsistencies in curricula content, in sequencing, prerequisites, materials, and types and numbers of specialized courses to be taken;

: Assumptions of the educational and other qualifications needed by students to handle the curriculum successfully (e.g., are students seen as an undifferentiated or diverse group? If the latter, in what respects are they considered to be different and how are these differences reflected in curricula designs?);

: Specific curricular changes which have resulted from the involvement of community colleges in New Careers programs, and the ramifications of such changes throughout the college community;

: Assessment of students, faculty, user agencies, colleges and universities, etc., regarding the relevance and usefulness of specific curricula vis-a-vis student needs and capabilities, and occupational and advanced educational performance requirements;

: Descriptions and assessments of major types of educational or curriculum materials used.

9) Reassessment and redesign of community college curricula are not the only changes sought by advocates of new careers programs. To meet the educational needs of new careerists, they maintain that faculty are needed who can best communicate with and relate to them. The identification and selection of such faculty are matters for empirical determination, rather than conventional wisdom. What is required in this situation is the development of explicit, tested models of faculty roles and qualifications. This task will need the involvement of community college planners and administrators as well as researchers.

One approach to the development of faculty models involves (a) the identification of individual faculty members who in the performance of selected, essential functions are rated high and those who are rated low by their peers, department chairmen, and new careers students. The functions selected might include classroom teaching, student advisement, committee activities, contributions to fields or professional or occupational specialization, and community service. (b) Their attitudes and approaches to these functions, and, most importantly, the actions taken to implement them should be carefully described and compared. Differences in the attitudes and actions of the two groups should produce understanding of the reasons for effective and ineffective performance. (c) Lastly, analysis of the objective and subjective characteristics of the faculty members in both high and low performance groups will suggest a complex of preferred personal qualifications for faculty roles.

A somewhat simpler method for generating empirical data as a basis for the development of faculty models involves the design of an attitude or opinion survey. Administered to faculty, new careers students, administrators and knowledgeable community service agencies, the study should focus on what are regarded as faculty responsibilities and attitudes towards the education of new careerists, the standards performance and personal qualifications considered necessary to fulfill them. Here too, faculty responsibilities may include teaching, advisement, committee activities, community services, etc.

These studies should produce data which can be employed to develop operational conceptions of the roles of faculty, particularly in relation to the disadvantaged student, and the optimum qualifications required for success in these roles. However carefully and systematically developed these models may be, they will need to be tested before they are implemented. For this purpose, a series of appropriate indices of successful role performance should be selected and base line data generated in preparation for before and after testing of randomly selected experimental and control groups of students, committee assignments, community service activities, etc.

10) Increasingly, it is recognized that new careerists, as is the case with other disadvantages persons, may require various auxiliary services in order to aid their adjustment to and enhance their performance in a new academic environment. In some instances financial assistance is needed, but more often tutoring, remediation, counseling and even family case work are the services required. The effectiveness of these services may well determine the academic success of many new careerists. It is important, therefore, to determine how community colleges are handling these critical activities, and what they have learned in the process.

A national survey should be accepted to determine how students' deficiencies are identified and by what criteria judgments are made regarding the types of service needed. Efforts should be made to identify the characteristics of those who require different types of services in contrast to those who do not, when individuals in need of assistance are identified, how are they approached? Is it entirely a matter of persuasion or is there some element of coercion? Are such services generally offered on an individual or group basis? On what grounds are such judgments made? What are the academic consequences for those who refuse to accept the proffered services? In general, what are the costs involved? How are these services organized and administered? Finally, which are most effective?

11) The significance of linkages established between community colleges and public and private (user) agencies employing new careerists as well as professional associations and unions has been stressed throughout this section. Indeed, the success of the New Careers Program is in large measure dependent upon the sensitive articulation of the objectives and activities of community colleges with other community organizations, many of which are engaged in new or expanded services with a relatively unfamiliar population or client group. The importance of these relationships was anticipated by the New Careers Program concept and affirmed by subsequent operational experience.

Characteristically, the development of such linkages has often proved to be a difficult and frustrating experience. For example, one frequently hears complaints by supervisory staff of user agencies that they lack information about new careerists' educational experiences. On the other hand, reports of significant accomplishments by both the community college and the user agency come from those communities in which cooperative relationships have been established.

It is recommended, therefore, that a national sample survey be undertaken to describe, analyze and assess the linkages established between community colleges and new careers projects. The study should also include for secondary emphasis relationships between professional associations and unions and community colleges. The focus of the study should center on the following issues:

: The number and type of relationships established between community colleges and user and other agencies.

: The benefits to community colleges and to cooperating agencies anticipated from their relationship.

: The actual benefits realized, or changes affected.

: The manner in which relationships were established.

: The mechanisms through which the relationships were effected.

: Factors contributing to successful and to unsuccessful relationships.

This survey should result in conclusions covering the conditions and mechanisms associated with successful articulation between community colleges and other agencies and recommendations for their extension and strengthening.

12) In the rhetoric of the New Careers Program, the opportunity for maximum occupational mobility is significantly dependent on open channels between community and senior colleges. However, the existence of barriers to the movement of community college graduates into senior colleges is an issue of considerable concern to many, as the following statement indicates:

> "New Careerists at Pasadena City College are nearing the completion of Certificate requirements (four core courses) and are anticipating the A.A. degree. They are perturbed by what the fine print in university and college catalogs tell them. It is all well and good to preach the New Careers gospel of becoming credentialed while you work, but under the present ground rules, inadequate articulation stops the process cold at the A.A. degree. Core courses and new related courses are not transferable except on a too limited elective basis. There are few if any equivalencies in the lower divisions of state colleges of the University; hence no transfer credit. To add insult to injury, when the student does not reach upper division status he may be required to repeat the content of many of these courses."*

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* Ruth Macfarlane, "The Name of the Game is Urban Community Development," Some Who Dared, The Institute for Local Self Government, Berkeley, Californiz, 1969, p. 78.

One of the principal problems in the articulation between the two institutions involves the transferability of community college credits to a senior college in pursuit of a baccalaureate degree. A complex of difficult and sensitive problems, the issue of credit transferability must be resolved if the credibility of the New Careers program and concept is to be firmly established. To deal with this issue adequately will require special studies addressed to such questions as:

: The preparation of community college graduates who apply for admission to a four-year college.

: The educational backgrounds of those who apply and of those who are accepted and rejected. (For example, are liberal arts majors more likely to apply and to be accepted than those who majored in an occupational specialization? Among the latter, are students of some occupational specializations more likely than others to apply and be accepted?)

: The processes and criteria employed by four-year colleges in evaluating the background of community college students applying for admissions. How do these processes and criteria vary among four-year colleges?

: The processes and experiences of those community colleges which have negotiated with four-year colleges on issues related to the transferability of credit.

: The types of community college courses that are and are not credited by four-year colleges. Does acceptance of the application for admission by a four-year college generally require that community college graduates make up various courses? Which? How many?

The variations in practice which affect the issue of transferability of credit from one institution to another are likely to be influenced by the educational credentials of the community college graduates, by the admissions requirements of individual four-year colleges and of their constituent schools and departments, and by a host of other factors. Despite these variations, descriptions and analysis of current practice are essential as a basis for developing academic bridges between two-year and four-year colleges.

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